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Scotland 8459

THE
HISTORY OF LEITH,

FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNTS TO THE PRESENT PERIOD;

WITH
A SKETCH
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES OF THE TOWN.

BY
ALEX. CAMPBELL.



LEITH:
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM REID & SON.

MDCCCXXVII.

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LEITH:

PRINTED BY W. REID AND SON.

TO THE
MERCHANT COMPANY
AND
INCORPORATIONS OF LEITH,
THIS HISTORY
OF THE TOWN
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,
BY
THEIR MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

COULD a name have been found less dignified, yet equally appropriate to the subject of this work, than that which it bears, the imposing title of History would scarcely have been adopted. The following sheets possess neither the solemn dignity of style, nor the grave and philosophic reasoning, whether right or wrong, which have always been thought necessary in a regular historical narrative. I have, with a little industry—and it is all the merit I claim—brought together and arranged the different events of importance with which Leith has been connected, since the period when its annals first present us with any thing worthy of notice, or capable of exciting any interest,—in other words, since Leith first became associated and identified with the eventful history of the kingdom. That I have performed this grave task with too much levity, may be charged against me; but I have been desirous to blend, as far as the nature of the subject and my own abilities would admit, amusement with instruction.

To my fellow-townsmen—and a wider circulation to any extent is not contemplated—I trust this volume, however slender its merits in a literary point of view, will not be found uninteresting, particularly at this important crisis in the annals of the port, when she is struggling to free herself from those shackles which injustice and oppression had imposed, and which illiberal policy or prejudice would, even now, doubly rivet; when, aroused from that apathy which a long course of political degradation had induced, she is straining every nerve to take that place in the state to which her growing commercial importance and increasing population entitle her.

In these sheets, I have endeavoured to shew what Leith was, what Leith is. What Leith may be, depends much on the result of the present contest. If she succeeds in obtaining at the hands of the legislature her just and equitable requests, she may reasonably hope for a great and rapid increase of wealth and prosperity; if she does not succeed, these hopes must become slender indeed.

LEITH, 26th March, 1827.

THE
HISTORY OF LEITH.

HISTORY OF LEITH.

INVERLEITH, the name by which Leith was anciently called, is a compound word of Gaelic origin—**Inver*** signifying, in that language, the junction of a river with the sea, or other extensive body of water. This name, however, is never applied to the disembogue-ment of large rivers, such as the Clyde and Forth, nor to that of rivulets, being too dignified an appellation for the latter, and inapplicable to the former, as their confluence with the sea cannot be defined with any thing like precision, an essential requisite to places so called. The name, therefore, is invariably confined to rivers of middling size, such as the Esk and Leith.

We have made some attempts to trace the etymology of the remaining part of the word Leith, and were not without hope that we should have found it to be descriptive, as are almost all proper names in the Celtic Tongue ; but in this pursuit we have been

* **Aber** signifies the same thing. Thus we have Aberdeen, Aberlady, &c.

unsuccessful, and are therefore compelled to leave the etymology of the word Inverleith as imperfectly ascertained as we found it. The first mention of Leith on record which has yet been discovered, is in the foundation-charter of the Abbey of Holyrood-house, founded by King David the First, in the year 1128, when it was granted, amongst with other places, for the support of that Abbey. It would appear, however, that at this early period Leith had not attained any importance, as it is not classed amongst the *oppida* mentioned in that document; a dignity to which the towns of Broughton, Pittendreich, Hamer, and Fordham, are admitted, whilst Leith is mentioned simply as the "Lands of Inverleith." * Notwithstanding of this, however, Leith is a place of very considerable antiquity, since, as early as the reign of Alexander the Third, we find that it was deemed worthy of the honour of conferring their surname upon the ancient family of the Leiths of Leith-hall, to whom, with other extensive possessions in the county of Mid-Lothian, it

* We have been told that the lands mentioned in this charter were merely certain grounds in the neighbourhood of the Town; and that, therefore, the expression, "Lands of Inverleith," does not at all affect the presumption that the Town of Leith existed before this period. It is possible that the origin of Leith may be coeval with that of Herculaneum, for any thing we know positively to the contrary, but we do not choose to hazard vague and unsupported assertions on a point so much involved in obscurity; besides, as nothing whatever is known of its history before this period, we conceive it would be something worse than sheer idleness to be floundering away amongst hypothesis and conjectures, which could neither instruct nor amuse.

belonged, including the lands of Restalrig. The Leiths, at that remote period, were of sufficient note in Scotland to intermarry with some of the proudest families in the kingdom. We therefore conceive, from this circumstance, that Leith must then have been a place of at least some little consideration. Early in the beginning of the fourteenth century, although at what precise period we have not been able to ascertain, Leith, with the lands of Restalrig, came into the possession of the Logans, by a marriage with a daughter of the house of Leith. Nothing, however, is certainly known of its history until the year 1329, at which period it seems to have attained sufficient importance and prosperity to excite the fears, and tempt the cupidity of the citizens of Edinburgh, who, in that year, applied for and obtained, from King Robert the First, a grant of the Harbour and Mills of Leith, with their appurtenances, for payment of 52 merks yearly. Having procured this grant, the Edinburghers exercised the rights and privileges which it conferred, without interruption, until the year 1398, when Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, Knight, proprietor and baronial Lord of Leith, justly and successfully contended that the grant of King Robert, although it gave them possession of the mills and harbour of Leith, could give them no right whatever to the use of the banks of that harbour or river, which were his private property. This fact is so obvious, that it becomes matter of surprise that the family of Restalrig should have allowed the Edinburghers to make use

of their grounds for so long a period as sixty-nine years, without compensation or interference. This, however, may be partly accounted for by the circumstance, that the elder branches of that family were much abroad during the above period. Besides, in that early age, land was comparatively but of little value, and an encroachment to a small extent would not be so strictly inquired into as in the present day, when a landed proprietor is apt to grudge even the soil that adheres to the shoes of his visitors. Nor would Logan probably, in this case, have ever thought of asserting his right and interrupting the commerce of the Edinburghers, had he not been naturally of an avaricious and perverse disposition. It is likely, also, that he was further prompted to this measure by the circumstance, that at this period Royal Burghs began to claim the privileges of Foreign Trade, to the exclusion of Burghs of Barony. The Edinburghers, therefore, it may be presumed, their city being a Royal Burgh, had, by virtue of their newly-assumed rights, begun to treat Logan's vassals, the Leithers, with a contempt becoming their own superior rank in the state, and on the same grounds to wrest the Foreign Trade out of the hands of the Leithers, who, on the other hand, would be much too stupid to perceive the wisdom and equity of a measure, which was calculated to enrich one part of the community at the expense of the other—to aggrandise the Edinburghers, and to ruin them. From such a state of matters, if they did exist, and it is more than probable they

did, violent contentions would naturally arise; and Logan would, as a matter of course, take part with his vassals, and of consequence throw every obstacle he could in the way of the Edinburghers. Actuated, therefore, as we suppose, by the motives of avarice and resentment, Logan, as we have already related, disputed the right of the latter to the banks of the harbour, and they were in consequence compelled to purchase from him, at a high price, the said banks or waste piece of ground extending from the walls of the houses to the river,* with liberty to erect Wharfs and Quays thereon, for the convenience of shipping and landing goods; and they further stipulated, that they should be allowed to make ways or roads through Logan's lands of Restalrig, for the more easy transporting of goods to and from the port of Leith, with the power of keeping shops for the sale of Bread, Wine, Wax, Silk, &c. and a liberty to erect granaries for the reception of Corn.

The Edinburghers, having obtained this grant, felt amazingly comfortable, and imagined they had done the business so effectually, that no further disputes with Logan could possibly arise. But from this happy state of ignorance, their indefatigable tormentor, Restalrig, speedily awakened them. He had succeeded so well in his first contention with the worthy Burgesses of Edinburgh, that he determined to let

* At this period there were no breast-works on either side of the river, the ground which then sloped down to the water's edge being parcelled out into small gardens.

no opportunity slip of quarrelling with them again, and, rather than want a dispute, he came to the commendable resolution of creating one, and that without being any way particular about the equity of the circumstance on which it was founded. With this view, and after giving the matter no doubt much and weighty cogitation, he proceeded to carry the result of these ruminations into effect. Taking advantage of the inexplicitness of that clause in the deed which he had just granted to the Edinburghers, empowering them to make ways between Edinburgh and Leith, he confined them to a dirty narrow lane called the *Burgess Close*,* alleging, unquestionably, that though he had given them liberty to make a road or roads *between* Edinburgh and Leith, he had by no means conceded any right to make one *through* Leith. We regret to say, however, that Sir Robert's ingenuity did not avail him in this case. The Town Council of Edinburgh commenced a process against him for a free communication with the shipping, by virtue of their Town being a Royal Burgh, and succeeded in compelling Logan to grant them an ample and commodious access to the Port.

The Edinburghers, not satisfied with the rights and privileges which they had obtained in Leith, by

* This venerable close still flourishes in all the vigour of its primitive filthiness, and boasts an aboriginal effluvia, which, if not altogether so seraphic as the odour of sanctity, makes certainly a much more lively impression on the astonished passengers' olfactory nerves. The Burgess Close is the first alley north of Queen Street, on the Shore.

the grants of King Robert and Logan, and conceiving that the Leithers still retained too great a share of the trade of the Town in their hands, determined, although the latter were already greatly injured by the privilege which the former had obtained of opening shops in Leith, by one decisive blow at once to effect the total ruin of the Leithers, and to secure to themselves the whole trade of the Port. To accomplish this desirable end, they applied to Logan, who, they knew, notwithstanding what had passed between them, would be ready to listen to any proposal which was likely to put money in his pocket, without paying much regard to the quarter whence it came, and they were not dissatisfied. Cooped up in his little castle at Lochend,* Logan may be supposed to have been watchfully eyeing from his eyrie the proceedings at Leith, and holding himself at all times in perfect

* The ruins of Logan's Castle are still to be seen perched on the top of an isolated rock which rises by the side of Lochend, or more properly Restalrig Loch. These ruins seem to be respected by the proprietor of the ground on which they stand, as, to all but the lovers of the antique, they appear to interfere with and to deform an elegant new mansion built close by them. The little lake of Restalrig, which is only 100 yards in length, and about half that breadth, is remarkable for its amazing profundity, being, in the deepest place, which we believe is immediately below the rock, no less than 80 feet. We regret to add, that this fine sheet of water is fast disappearing, in consequence, it is supposed, of opening up a quarry in its neighbourhood, which drains off the water of the loch by subterranean channels. The inhabitants of Edinburgh, who justly feel proud of the romantic scenery which the environs of their city presents, ought not to permit the extinction of one of the most striking features in the landscape.

readiness to pounce upon his prey when he thought it within his reach. Or it may probably be considered a yet more striking and happy illustration to compare the cunning and avaricious old Baron to a large and able-bodied spider, watching from his hole the success of his snares, and darting out upon the slightest vibration of the treacherous fabric. Leith, we may say, and, we think, not unaptly, was Logan's web, and the Magistrates of Edinburgh, we may with not less felicity compare to great bumbling flies, whom it was his delight to catch entangled in the meshes of his net. Had Logan, with a proper discrimination, been contented with the lawful prey just mentioned, which providence threw in his way, there would have been no harm done; but unfortunately his dispositions were but too much akin in reality to those of the ruthless little animal to which we have taken the liberty of comparing him. He made no distinction between friends and foes, and was at all times as ready to sacrifice the interests of his own vassals, as to injure those of his old opponents, the Edinburghers, provided always that suitable advantages accrued therefrom. Accordingly we find that Logan, on this occasion, granted to the Edinburghers, for a large consideration, an exclusive, ruinous, and enslaving bond, by which the inhabitants of Leith were not only restrained from carrying on any sort of trade, but debarred even the humble occupation of keeping shops or warehouses; and that no means of livelihood whatever should be left to the unhappy Leithers, they

were by this grant forbidden to keep inns, or houses of entertainment for strangers. Even all this did not satisfy the unconscionable avidity of the Edinburghers, who, with a vindictive and illiberal policy, which none but themselves would have practised, in the year 1485, ordained, by their Town Council, that no merchant of Edinburgh presume to take into partnership an inhabitant of Leith, under the penalty of forty shillings to the church work, and to be deprived of the freedom of the city for one year. The same Council further enacted that none of the revenues of Edinburgh be let to an inhabitant of Leith, nor any of the farmers of the said revenues presume to take a Leither as a partner in any contract relating to the same, nor to take any person of Leith into his service in that respect, under the penalties aforesaid. In another act of Council, of which we have not ascertained the date, but which, from its tenor, we may presume was passed about the same period, it was enacted that no staple goods, whether of strangers or freemen of other burghs, after they are unladen, be housed, or remain longer in Leith than is absolutely necessary, before conveying them to Edinburgh, under the pain of escheat, and that the said goods or merchandise be not sold or disposed of in Leith, under the same penalty. After this we conceive there was but one measure wanting to complete the destruction of the unhappy Leithers, and that—we say it in all sincerity—was an act of Council to cut their throats. Such, then, was the grant of Logan of Res-

talrig, superior of Leith, to the Edinburghers, in the year 1398, and such were the ungenerous and iniquitous measures with which the Edinburghers followed up that grant. In viewing this singular transaction, we are at a loss to say to which party, Logan, or the Edinburghers, the palm of infamy belongs. The claims of the former, however, upon a little consideration, must be allowed to be the fairest, since to him belongs the odium of sacrificing the interests of a people whom he was bound to encourage and protect, and of whose rights he was the sole and natural guardian; and it may be said in behalf of the latter, that they were right, on the ungenerous and selfish principles of mercantile speculation, to make the best bargain they could, and to buy up every advantage to themselves, however injurious it might be to others, which they found any one disposed to part with. Beyond this, however, in extenuation of their conduct, we cannot go. The measures with which they followed up their purchase from Logan, stand forth in all the naked deformity of tyrannical and iniquitous oppression, and, making every allowance for the illiberal and narrow spirit of the times, we must admit that their treatment of the poor but industrious Leithers, was of infamy sufficient to exclude all hope of ever finding a parallel; and yet what we have already recorded of the oppression exercised by the Edinburghers over the inhabitants of devoted Leith, is but a small part of that system of tyranny which was continued down to a very late

period,* and which we will expose in its proper place during the course of the narrative.

With regard to Logan's conduct on this occasion, it may be said that he had a right to dispose of his property as he thought fit. This principle, in the abstract, it would be absurd to arraign; but certainly there are contingencies which do materially affect that principle, and leave it, in some instances, at least questionable in common equity. We particularly allude to such cases as Logan's, where the interests and rights of a community are the property of an individual, which he may dispose of in what manner he pleases, as Logan did, to the utter ruin of that community. At all events, it is certainly matter of regret that any man should be possessed of such a power, and of general execration, when he happens to abuse it.

As the Logans of Restalrig bear a most important part in the earlier transactions regarding Leith, and are therefore inseparably connected with its history, we trust that some account of their share in that event, which deprived them of their possessions, and involved the family in ruin, will not be deemed foreign to the subject of this work. The Logans appear to have made some figure in Scotland at a very early period, and to have been reckoned of considerable

* It has come down to a much later period than we contemplated when this was written. We did not then dream of its being revived in 1826.

note, as we find that a member of that family was admitted to the high honour of accompanying Douglas on his sacred mission to Jerusalem with the heart of Robert de Bruce ; * and in the reign of King Robert the Third, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig held the important appointment of Lord High Admiral of the Scottish Fleet. During the latter days of this family, however, there seems to have been a miserable falling off, as we find the celebrated John Knox, in his history of the Reformation, characterising the Sir Robert Logan of his day as a man "neither fortunate nor prudent." * It is probable, therefore, that the Logan of Restalrig, who embarked in that ill-concerted and worse-conducted plot, which deprived his family of their inheritance, was induced thereto, as well from the dilapidated state of his fortunes, as the natural turbulence of his disposition. The event to which we allude, is the celebrated Gowrie conspiracy, in the concerting of which it was discovered, eight years afterwards, that Logan of Restalrig was deeply implicated. This discovery was made by means of one Geo. Sprott, an attorney, who was himself hanged, for the share which he had in that crime. The guilt of Logan was ascertained by means of several letters which he had written to the Earl of Gowrie previous to the attempted regicide, and from which we shall

* In commemoration of this event, the Logans of Restalrig assumed for their arms a heart transfixd with three arrows, at equal distances, and with its apex resting on an altar.

take the liberty of laying before our readers two short extracts.

This treasonable correspondence between Logan and Gowrie was carried on through the agency of one Laird Bour, of whose fidelity the former appears to have entertained the highest opinion, and in order to induce his correspondent to entertain similar sentiments regarding the laird, we find him thus expressing himself in a letter to Gowrie, dated the 18th of July, 1600. "I pray you, Sir, think nothing although the bearer understand of it, (the conspiracy) for he is the special secretary of my life; his name is Laird Bour, and was old Manderston's man for dead and life, and even so now for me. And for my part, he shall know of all that I do in this world, so long as ever we live together, for I make him my household man; he is well worthy of credit, and recommend him to you." A few days after this, when the plot began to thicken, Logan wrote to Gowrie, informing him that he had made arrangements for a meeting of the conspirators at Fast Castle, a residence of the Logans on the coast of Berwickshire, but, at the same time, expresses a wish that an interview should take place between himself and the Earl, or his brother, previous to the final and decisive meeting at Fastcastle. "And I would wish," he adds in this letter, "that your Lordship would either come, or send Mr Alexander to me, and thereafter I would meet your Lordship in Leith, or quietly at Restalrig, when we

should have prepared ane fine hatted kitt, * with sugar and comfits, and wine, and thereafter confer on matters." This, our readers will agree with us in thinking, was rather a comfortable way of conducting an affair of treason, and might, we think, be safely recommended to all traitors. Whether his Lordship, however, was tempted on this occasion to visit Restalrig, to partake of Logan's hatted kitt, we are unable to say. Let that be as it may, Logan was not present when this awkward conspiracy was attempted to be carried into effect on the person of King James; nor, to the great credit of Laird Bour be it told, would his share in that transaction probably ever have been discovered, had not Sprott given the clue which led to the detection of his guilt. This, however, was no sooner done, than a summons of treason was executed against Robert Logan, his eldest son and heir, (himself being dead,) and all others concerned, on the 15th of February, 1609, to appear before the King and estates of parliament. In compliance with an old and barbarous law of Scotland, the bones of Logan were, on this occasion, dug up, and brought into the parliament-house to be tried, and receive judgment. The consequence of this proceeding against the family of Logan, was, that their whole estate, real and personal, was declared forfeit.

* A preparation of milk kept for some time, when the whey is drained off, and there remains a thick consistence, which is very agreeable to eat. Sweet milk, or cream, is necessary in the composition called hatted kitt.

ed, and the posterity of the traitor rendered incapable of succeeding to, or holding, any offices, honours, or possessions.

From the year 1398 until 1467, the history of Leith is again involved in obscurity; and indeed the glimpse we get of it at the latter period; merely shews us that the inconvenient mode of shipping horses on board of the ferry-boats, which then plied between Leith and other places, was thought worthy of the interference of the legislature, as appears from the following excerpt from an act of parliament, passed on the 31st January, 1467, in the reign of James the Third. "It is seen expedient for the Lords and the utility of the King's highness' service, that the ferry-boats of Leith, and other places, should be provided with a *brigge made of buirdis*, for the more easy shipping of horses, under the penalty of confiscation, and disability to ply the ferry for one year." This circumstance, although of little importance, we have deemed sufficiently curious to be worthy of notice, since, so far as it goes, it illustrates the extreme uncouthness of the times to which it belongs. The "brigge of buirdis" was no doubt thought a notable improvement, and its contrivers looked upon as men of surpassing ingenuity.* Even at this early period, however, Leith was fast rising into consequence

* The "brigge of buirdis" may still be seen in full operation, when cattle are landing at the Ferry-boat-stairs from the Pettycur or Burntisland Packet Boats, and certainly the awkwardness of the method is worthy of the 15th century.

as a commercial port; its trade was steadily and rapidly increasing; its imports were various and valuable; but as Scotland had then few superfluities to boast of, this trade was not reciprocal, a circumstance which must have greatly retarded its prosperity: yet, notwithstanding this disadvantage, Leith, as we have already said, had become a place of considerable note, and promised to attain still greater eminence.

In order that our readers may be enabled to form some idea of the nature of the trade which Leith carried on about this period, we take the liberty of subjoining a list of imports and exports, with the duties levied on each article. The miserable figure which the latter make when compared with the former, will not escape observation.

Duties payable at Leith, in the Year 1477.

Inwards.	Scots Money.
For a last of Barrelled Goods - - - -	00. 5. 00.
For a tun of Wine - - - -	00. 1. 4.
For a butt of Malmsey Wine - - - -	00. 1. 00.
For one quarter 1000 of Iron - - - -	00. 2. 00.
For one hundred yards of Sailcloth - -	00. 00. 2.
For a barrel Oil, Butter, Soap, &c. - -	00. 00. 2.
For a barrel of Almonds or Apples - -	00. 00. 6.
For a last Lint or Flax - - - -	00. 5. 4.
For 100, great or small, of Timber - -	00. 1. 4.
For 100 of Bow Strings - - - -	00. 1. 4.
For a Pack of Wool - - - -	00. 13. 4.
For a quarter of Corn, 2 bags, one before the mast, and one behind the mast - - -	00. 1. 00.

Outwards.

For a chaldron of Salt	- - - - -	00. 00. 3.
For a chaldron of Smithy Coals	- - - - -	00. 00. 8.
For a last of Hides	- - - - -	00. 2. 8.
For a sack of Wool and Skins	- - - - -	00. 1. 0.
For a pack of Cloth	- - - - -	00. 0. 8.
For a pack of Rabbit Skins, Otter, and Lambs'	00. 0. 8.	

These duties, moderate as they appear to be, were often evaded, or rather, we may almost venture to say, seldom paid. The mode of collecting a tax of this kind, would, we may presume, in that age of barbarity and ignorance, be extremely slovenly and inefficient; and it is not by any means unlikely, that the one-half of a ship's cargo would be landed and away, beyond the possibility of being retaken, if indeed it was ever looked after in such cases, before any king's officer was aware of her being in the harbour; and it is also probable, that when a vessel arrived, every one who had goods on board of her would rush into the ship, and proceed to carry off their property, if portable, without consulting those appointed to collect the duties, who again, we may conceive, would be employed in running about the vessel, from one to another, sweating and swearing, and demanding payment of the customs, sometimes succeeding in their applications, but no doubt oftener refused. In the meantime, and in the midst of this bustle and uproar, the harassed and distressed officers would have the mortification to see the greater part of the cargo disappear-

ing, by piecemeal, into the different closes on the shore, unanointed and unannealed. Occasionally, it is probable, they would make a desperate and furious sally after a lot which seemed to be of unreasonable dimensions, and which was just evanishing into the jaws of the Burgess Close, when the consequences would likely be an obstinate and fruitless battle. As the officers would of course be obnoxious to the populace, they would naturally fly to the assistance of the trader, and as naturally attack the officers, who, finally, battered and discomfited, would return to the *melée* on board of the vessel, and again commence their arduous and bootless operations. Thus the day would conclude, and the ship at length be cleared of her cargo, with but small emolument to the King. Nor is this sketch by any means altogether imaginary. Besides its extreme probability, considering the ignorance of the times, the following act of parliament on the subject, and there are many of a similar purport,* affords, we conceive, some foundation for our theory. By this act our readers will perceive that the legislature, finding, no doubt, every other method of securing the duties ineffectual, fell upon the contrivance of making the landlords of inns liable for the customs of their guests.

* James IV., June 13, 1503.—“It is statute and ordained, for causing of the king's customs to cum in hail to him, as accordis, and to eschew the defrauding that has been done thereof in times bygane, that na man hous wooll, hide, nor skinnes in Leith, nor uther places out with free burrowes, under the pain of escheat.”

Acta Parliamenta James IV. 7th May, 1493.—

It is auisit be ye lordis of ye articles that for ye defraude done to our souerane lord in his customis, be strangeris and alienaris of other realmes, quhilk comis to yis realme, and tak yair lugeing and Innys in ye town of Leith, and at uthir partis of ye realme, and charge thair gudis to ye sey, and vtheris yair merchandise, not payand thair eustumes and dewteis to our soueraine lord,—it is statute and ordained, that in tyme to cum, quhen any schip of alienaris or strangers of vther realmes comes into ye havin of Leith, or any vther port in the realme, the master or merchant of ye said schip shall take his lugeing at the inns of ye principal town of ye said port, and enter his goods as effeirs; and the host of the inns where the said strangeris are lodged, shall answer to the King for their customs and duties, if the said strangers passes away uncustomyt.”

Thus, what must certainly be thought rather hard, the landlord was compelled to keep a watchful eye over the King's duties, as well as the reckonings of his guests.

In order to preserve chronological accuracy, as far as possible, in recording the different events and occurrences connected with, and which we deem worthy of a place in, this history, we shall take the liberty of introducing here, in absence of more important matter, a description of the building of a ship in the reign of James the Fourth, taken from Lindsay of Pittscotie, and which, whatever may be the opinion

of the generality of our readers, will, we doubt not, be found to possess some interest in the eyes of a large and useful body of our townsmen, the carpenters of Leith. To render the excerpt which we are about to give into modern language, would be to deprive it of its most amusing characteristic; we therefore insert it *verbatim et literatim*, and trust that the grave absurdity, singular phraseology, and extravagant exaggerations of the description, will be found not altogether incapable of affording amusement.

Whether the ship, which is the subject of the following account, was built at Leith or Newhaven, we are unable to say, but incline to think it must have been at the latter place, as King James IV. erected there a chapel * and dock-yard, whence its name of Newhaven, or, as it was then sometimes called; "Our Lady's Port of Grace." "In this year, 1511," says the old chronicler, "the king (James IV.)

* This chapel was, on its erection, dedicated to St Mary, an honour which was afterwards transferred to St James. A small portion of the outer wall of this building still exists, and forms a part of the enclosure of the present burying-ground in the middle of the town. We have seen an ornamental model of a cannon in stone, elegantly cut, and a holy water font, which formerly belonged to this ancient chapel; these are in the possession of a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Newhaven. We may take this opportunity of mentioning, that the Edinburghers, entertaining similar fears for the rising consequence of this port, with those they had entertained for that of Leith, purchased of James IV. the town and harbour of Newhaven, with all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto, which he conveyed to them by a grant, dated the 9th of March, 1510.

buildit a great schip, called the Michael, quhilk was ane verrie monstrous great schip, for this schip tuik so meikle timber, that schoe *waisted all the woodis in Fyfe*, except Falkland wood, by [besides] the timber that cam out of Norway, for many of the schipwrightis in Scotland wrought at hir, and wrightis of vther countries had thair devyse at hir, and all wrought bussillie the space of ane yeir at hir. This schip was twelff scoir footis length, threttie-sax foott within the wallis; schoe was ten foott thick within the wallis of cutted risles of oak, so that no cannon could doe at hir. She cumbered all Scotland to gett hir to the sea, and when schoe was committed to the sea, and vnder saill, schoe was counted to the king to fourtie thousand pund of expensis, by her ordouris and cannonis quhilkis schoe bair. Schoe had thrie hunder marineris to governe hir, six scoir gunneris to vse hir artaillerie, and ane thousand men of warre by [besides] captains, skipperis, and quartermasteris. Quhen this schip past to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king caused shott ane cannon at hir, to essay hir if schoe was wight, but the cannon deired hir not. And if any man believe that this schip was not as we have schowin, lett him pass to the place of Tullybardyne, quhair he will find the breadth and length of hir sett with hauthorne; as for my author was Captain Andro Wood, principal captain of hir, and Robert Bartone, who was maister skipper. This schip lay still in the road, and the king tuik great pleasour everie day to cum down and

sie hir, and would dyne and sup in hir sundrie tymes, and be shewing his lordis hir ordour and munition." Here, then, we have a ship, "and a ship of fame," with a witness.

We must, however, caution our readers in general, and particularly carpenters, not to give full credence to the extravagant and absurd description of the credulous old chronicler, notwithstanding the respectable evidence of Captain Andro Wood, to which he so boldly refers, and which, amongst with the other proofs of his veracity, he pushes forward, evidently from a conviction that his account stood greatly in need of corroboration. Before this "verrie monstrous great schip," the paltry things of our day dwindle into mere cock-boats, and are no more to be compared to the redoubted Michael, than Arthur's Seat to a sugar-loaf. What ship-wright, we would ask, of these degenerate times, would entertain such a conscientious regard for the sea-worthiness of the ships which he built, as to make them "ten foott thick within the wallis of cutted risles of oak?"—Blush, blush, ye unconscionable carpenters of the present day, for your nefarious practices, not the least of which is, that, without having the fear of drowning his Majesty's lieges before your eyes, ye make "wallis" of a few inches serve our turn, in place of ten feet! Never did ship stand more in need of Morton's patent slip, than did the magnificent Michael, whose amazing bulk, it seems, "cumbered all Scotland;" and well she might, when we consider that

“schoe waisted all the woodis in Fyfe, except Falkland, by the timber that cam from Norway.” This beats the Columbus hollow, which was considered one of the wonders of our day, because she contained, or consisted, any you please, of a few thousand logs of wood ; but here we have a ship with the timber of a whole kingdom on her back.

Of Captain Andrew Wood,* the commander of the *Michael*, it may not be deemed an improper nor uninteresting digression to give some account, particularly as he is said to have been a native of Leith, and as one of the most remarkable events in his life, that which we are about to relate, is not foreign to its history. Andrew Wood, a man of surpassing bravery, ability, and loyalty, was the Nelson of his day, and stood deservedly high in the favour of his sovereign, James III., during the latter part of whose reign, and long before the *Michael* was built, Captain Wood commanded two ships, the one called the *Flower*, the other the *Yellow Carvell*. Immediately after the battle which preceded the murder of James, Captain Wood came into Leith Roads, where he cruized for some time, receiving on board of his ships the wounded of the king's army who had escaped from the field. The disaffected lords, who, with their

* In the year 1613, there was a ship of James VI., of 48 guns, and 123 men, blown up in Leith Roads by accident ; 60 of the crew perished on this occasion—the remainder escaped. This ship was commanded by a Captain Wood, who, it is not improbable, was a descendant of the Andrew Wood mentioned in the text.

forces, and the young prince, the Duke of Rothesay, were now at Linlithgow, having learned that Wood was in Leith Roads, and suspecting that the king, of whose murder they were yet ignorant, had taken shelter on board of one of his ships, immediately proceeded with their army to Leith, and encamped on the Links. Upon their arrival they despatched a messenger to Wood, to inquire whether or not the king was on board of his ship? he answered that he was not. This reply, however, did not satisfy the lords, who sent back their messenger to require Captain Wood's presence at their council, that they might themselves interrogate him; he, however, putting little faith in men who had taken up arms against their sovereign and his beloved master, wisely demanded, that, before leaving his ship, they should send hostages on board, to ensure his safe return. Finding themselves under the necessity of complying with this condition, they despatched the lords Fleming and Seatoun as pledges for his safety. This done, Wood came on shore, and presented himself before the prince and rebel lords assembled in council. When he entered the apartment, the young prince, who was then about fourteen years of age, and who had not seen his father for a long time, struck with his majestic appearance, looked tenderly on him, and said, "Sir, are ye my father?" To this affecting inquiry of the misled boy, whom the conspirators had placed at their head, to lessen the odium of their conduct, the reply of Wood was that of a noble and

a generous soul: "Sir," said he, whilst the tears streamed down his manly face, "I am not your father, but I was his servant, and shall be to his authority until I die, and an enemy to those who were the occasion of his destruction." The lords now proceeded to inquire of Captain Wood, if he knew where the king was? he replied that he did not. They reiterated the question, having a strong suspicion, from the well-known fidelity and attachment of Wood to his royal master, that the unfortunate monarch had taken shelter in one of his ships. "He is not then in your ship?" they repeated. "He is not in my ship," again replied the undaunted commander; and fearlessly and gallantly added: "But would to God he were! I should defend him, and keep him *skaitless* from all the treasonable wretches who have murdered him, and I hope to see the day when they shall be hanged and drawn for their demerits." The lords, finding that they had nothing to expect from Wood but haughty and offensive language, allowed him, though with much reluctance, to return to his ship. Had he not, however, had the precaution to secure pledges for his safety, instant death would have been the reward of his loyalty. So much was this brave man beloved by his crew, and so greatly were they alarmed for his safety on this occasion, that they had determined, had he been detained an hour longer by the council, to hang the hostages. This fact the affrighted lords declared to the prince and nobles when they landed. The proud and fearless bearing of Captain Wood,

during the interview, had naturally much irritated the rebel lords, who, little accustomed to be so bearded, and feeling keenly the taunts which Wood had so intrepidly thrown out, determined, if at all possible, to get him wholly in their power, that they might revenge, by his death, the insults which he had offered them. With this view they instantly summoned before them all the ship-captains in Leith, to whom, when assembled, they made the following proposals: That if any of them would undertake to sail out and engage Captain Wood, they would be furnished with artillery and provisions at the prince's expense. The Leith "Skipperis," however, one and all, wisely declined the attempt; and one of them, a Captain Barton, a name somewhat famous in the annals of Leith and the early maritime history of Scotland, as will be found hereafter, speaking, no doubt, the sentiments of his brethren, gave excellent reasons why he did so; for he declared "that there were not ten shippis in Scotland that would give Captain Wood's two ships combat, for he was well practised in war, and had sicke artaillerie and men, that it was hard dealing with him either by sea or land." This plain tale shields, we think, the reputation of the Leith Skipperis, about which we are particularly anxious, from all unhand-some insinuations which might otherwise be thrown out against their conduct on this occasion. At all events, it had the effect of inducing the conspirators to abandon all idea of taking Captain Wood. The first feat of notoriety which history records of

this gallant seaman, was performed in the year 1489, when several English ships came into the Frith of Forth, where they cruized, or, as Lindsay hath it, "travisched," for some days, attacking every vessel they met with, and plundering both ship and passengers. The King and Council were extremely desirous to be revenged on these marauders, and to put a stop to their nefarious career, but they could find neither captain nor mariners who would undertake to encounter them. In this dilemma, they sent for Captain Wood, whose fame, it would appear from this circumstance, had already begun, and requested him to go against the enemy, offering him, as a recompence for the important service, great rewards and the favour of his Sovereign, besides furnishing his ship with provisions. Captain Wood unhesitatingly undertook the enterprise. He set sail immediately with his two ships, met with and engaged the enemy off Dunbar, captured them after a bloody encounter, and brought them triumphantly into Leith. This feat, whilst it justly placed Captain Wood high in the estimation of his Sovereign and his countrymen, greatly irritated the King of England, Henry VII. who piqued himself on his maritime knowledge, and always took a particular interest in the naval affairs of his kingdom. Upon learning the defeat and capture of the English ships on this occasion, he immediately issued a proclamation, offering a reward of a thousand pounds per annum to whoever would engage Captain Wood, and make him prisoner. The renown, however, of

this intrepid seaman, had now spread so far and wide, that none for a long time would undertake the adventure. At length, one Stephen Bull, tempted either by the prospect of glory, which success in the enterprise held out, or by the magnificence of the promised reward, or probably both, had the temerity to offer his services against Wood. Three large ships, well furnished with cannon and other necessaries, were immediately provided for him by the King, and forth sailed Stephen Bull in quest of adventures, and to recover the lost reputation of England's maritime power. Bull, without loss of time, proceeded to the Frith of Forth in quest of his enemy. When he had come up as far as the Island of May, he, to use the amusing phraseology of our author, "tuik many of our boattes that were travelling for fisches to win their livin." The men whom he found in these boats, he kept on board of his own ship, that they might inform him when they descried any vessel, whether they were those of Captain Wood,—thus wisely providing against the probability of his engaging in any unprofitable or inglorious encounter with other vessels than those of his appointed enemy. A little after day-break, on a Sunday morning, one of the English ships discovered two vessels bearing down upon them, and not far from St Abb's Head. On perceiving them, Bull inquired of his prisoners, the fishermen, if these were Wood's ships? The men, unwilling to give any information which might be serviceable to their captor, or injurious to their countrymen, declared, that

they did not know whether they were his ships or not. The English captain, however, being convinced that the ships of a man so renowned as Wood could not be but well known in those seas to seafaring men, promised his prisoners their liberty, provided they would tell him truly, whether or not the vessels they saw were those commanded by Wood. This promise had the desired effect. The men immediately acknowledged that they were the ships he was in quest of. This information gave great joy to the gallant Captain Bull, who, with a glee which the event will shew was rather premature, ordered wine to be distributed amongst his men, upon which both he and they got exceedingly merry. The account of the combat which soon after followed between the hostile ships, we will give in the quaint and entertaining language of the old chronicler himself, Lindsay, to whom, it will be recollected, we are already indebted for the description of the "verrie monstrous great schip." We are the more induced to intrude this extract, as we conceive it to be a curious picture of the manner in which ancient naval engagements were conducted. Captain Bull, having taken a comfortable magnum of claret, to "bear his courage up," and having administered a quantity of the generous stimulant to his crew, proceeded to lecture them on the duty which they were about to be called upon to perform. He then "gart ordour his schipp in feare of warre, and sett the quartermaster and captanes eurie ane to his own rowme, and caused the gunners to charge,

and put all in ordour, lyk ane guid and stout cap-
tane. On the other syd, Sir Andrew Wood * cam
pertlie forward, knowing no impediment of ene-
mies to be in his gaite, quhil, at the last, he per-
ceived twa schippis cuming under sail, and making
fast towards theme, in feare of warre; then Cap-
tain Wood, seeing this, exhorted to battell, beseiking
theme to be fierce against their enemies, who had
sworne and avowed to make theme prisoneris to the
King of England. But will God they sall fail of
their purpose! Thairfore, sett yourselffis in ordour,
curie man to his awin rowme, and let your gunnis and
crossbowis be readie. But, above all, use the fire
ballis weill in the tops of the schipis, and let us keip
our overloftes with twa handit-swordis, and curie guid
fellow doe and remember on the eveil faire of the
realme, and his awin honour, and will God, for my
awin pairt, I sall schaw you guid example."

The first part of this example was, to do as Cap-
tain Bull had done, that is, to vivify himself and crew
with a little of the juice of the grape. The Yellow
Carvell, and her mate, the Flower, being now in ex-
cellent fighting trim, held boldly on their way towards
the enemy. "Be this, the sun begouth to ryse, and
schyne briht on the sailis, so the Inglisch schips ap-
pearid verie awfull in the sight of the Scottis, be rea-
son thair schips war gritt and strong, and weill fur-
nished with great artillerie. Yet the Scottis affeired

* Captain Wood had, by this time, received the honour of knight-
hood.

nothing, bot kest them underward on the Inglismen, who, seeing that, schott twa great cannons at the Scottis, thinkin that they should have stricken saill at thair boast. But the Scottismen, nothing affeired thairwith, cam stoutlie fordward vpoun the wynd syd vpoun Capt. Steven Bull, and clipped fra hand, and fought thair fra the ryssing of the sune untill the going down of the same in the long summeris day, quhill all the men and vomen that duelt neir the coast-syde stood and beheld the fyhting, quibllk was terrible to sie. Yet notuithstanding the night severed thame that they war forced to depairt fram otheris, quhill the morne that the day began to break, and thair trumpetts blew on aither syd, and maid thame againe to the battel, who clipped and fought so cruellie, that neither skippers nor mariners took head of thair schipis, but fightand still till the ebb tyd and south wind bare thame to Inchcap, forenent the mouth of Tay. The Scottismen seeand this, they tuik sick courage and hardiment, that they doubled on the strais on the Inglismen, and thair tuik Steven Bull, and his three schippis, and had thame up to the town of Dundee."

Such, then, was the effect of doubling the "straikis on the Inglismen," and such is the account of a sea-fight, as these matters were conducted about the latter end of the fifteenth century, and certainly a most uncouth mode it was. However, Captain Wood had "clipped" and fought so well on this occasion, as to secure himself a high place in the favour of

his brave and generous Sovereign, James IV., than whom, it is well known, no prince that ever filled a throne more loved, or was more ready to reward, a gallant deed of arms; nor was the natural magnanimity of this chivalrous monarch ever more strikingly exhibited than on this occasion. Sir Andrew Wood having brought him his prisoner, Captain Bull, the noble Prince complimented the English commander on his bravery, loaded both him and his crew with presents, and sent them safely back to their native country.

In the year 1526, we stumble upon another Act of Parliament regarding Leith, not less curious, we conceive, than the one which we have already introduced. As little is known of the history of the Town at this period, we must be contented to fill up the chasm with such scanty information as we can find. We presume, therefore, that no apology is necessary for inserting the following excerpt from this act, which, besides its connexion with Leith, is, we think, of general interest, inasmuch as it presents us with another of those singularities, which so remarkably characterize the olden time of Scotland. By this act, which was passed on the 12th of June, 1526, in the reign of James V., the legislature appointed "Archibald Douglas, Provost of Edinburgh, to be serchor principall at ye port of Leith, with sic deput as he plesis to deput under him, to serche and seik all manner of persouns passand furth of this realme, at ye said port, sa that nane of thame tak furth money, gold or sil-

uir, with thame, cuzeit (coined) or uncuzeit (uncoined), and siclike, the said Archibalde to deput under him, searchor at every port of ye realme to that effect, that ye money may remane in ye same uncareit furth of ye realme, conforme to ye auld act of parliament made thereupon of before. And ye said serchor to eschet and tak all sic money to be had away; and that ane half of ye money eschetit to be inbrot to our souiraine lord's use, and that ye uther half to remane with ye serchor for his laubor."

Our readers will, we have no doubt, readily agree with us in thinking, that the vague and indefinite tenor of this singular act must have led to a regular system of legal plundering and robbery, on the part of Archibald and his searchers depute, since no particular quantity of "cuzeit or uncuzeit gold or siluir" is named as that which ought not to be exceeded. No allowance is therefore made for the sum necessary to a person who is about to be "passand furth of ye realme;" consequently, Archibald was at full liberty to clear his pockets of the last shilling, and to take care that, if he would pass furth, it should be under the special charge of Providence, and not in any profane reliance on the strength of his purse. If the searchers, therefore, did their duty faithfully, and we humbly think there is little reason to doubt it, seeing that they got the one-half of the proceeds for their "laubor," they must, indeed, have set on his travels many a pennyless wight. As it is impossible, however, to conceive that this should have been al-

together the intention of the legislature, we must presume, that the searcher was empowered to allow, at least, what he should consider a sufficient sum to all persons about to embark to foreign lands. That this sum, however, would be extremely moderate, we may readily believe, as the searcher, it is more than probable, would, in most cases, declare it to be his opinion, that the traveller had by far too much money, and that, therefore, he was under the disagreeable necessity of reducing it by one-half.

Before proceeding further with our history, we may remark, that Leith has at different periods been visited with almost every calamity with which a place can be afflicted. Tyranny, fire, pestilence, famine, and the sword, have alternately scourged the devoted town, leaving it at one time in ruins, and at another, nearly depopulated. The first of these evils, we have shewn, it was already suffering from the assumed dominion of the Edinburghers;* the second we

* Amongst a thousand other acts of oppression, they, in the year 1535, thought proper to accuse the malt-makers of Leith with raising the price of grain to an exorbitant height, and, in consequence, summoned them before their council, who took it upon them to regulate their prices. Whether the malt-makers of Leith were guilty of this offence or not, we cannot now determine. But let that be as it may, they were not amenable to the council of Edinburgh, who had no right whatever to interfere in the matters of that corporation. The former, however, presuming on the grant which they had obtained from Logan, had long arrogated to themselves the sway of lords superiors, although they were not in possession of that title for 30 years after this period, and even then, it was merely a right redeemable, and which was not foreclosed until the year 1607.

come now to record. In the year 1544, it is well known, Henry VIII. despatched an army into Scotland, under the command of the Earl of Hertford, to avenge the insult which he conceived the Scots had offered him, by refusing to betroth their young Queen, Mary, to his son, Prince Edward. This army, consisting of ten thousand men, landed about a mile and a half above Newhaven, in the latter end of April, and immediately marched to Leith, in order to secure a place which afforded so many facilities for the co-operation of the fleet. Two inconsiderate and unsuccessful attempts were made, by a small body of troops, to interrupt the progress of the English army. We are unable to point out the ground where these encounters took place, but they were so trivial, and attended with so little consequence, as to make ignorance on this point little to be regretted. In one of these combats, two Englishmen were wounded, and two Scotsmen killed. Hertford's army arrived in Leith between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, which was then the dinner-hour of all classes, as it still is of the plebeians of our own day; accordingly they found the tables covered, in the different houses of which they took possession, and shortly afterwards shared of dinners, which, to their amazement, and certainly not a little to ours, they found to surpass, in abundance and luxury, any thing of the kind they had ever met with, either in England or any other part of Scotland; and, to complete their happiness and astonishment, they also found great plenty of the

choicest wines. We confess that we are utterly at a loss to account for that display of wealth which Leith, on this occasion, exhibited ; and it appears the more inexplicable, when we consider, that the good living which so much gratified and astounded the English soldiers, must be presumed to have been a matter of every-day occurrence, since it is well known, they did not at all calculate upon having the honour of Hertford's army to dinner, nor, if they did, is it probable they would have been at much pains to gratify men, who came for the express purpose of cutting their throats. The only way by which we can solve the mystery, (and a mystery it undoubtedly is,) is by conjecturing, that some of the fat burgesses of Edinburgh had come to reside in Leith, after that city had obtained the charter already spoken of from Logan of Restalrig, which, it will be recollected, placed the whole trade of the town in their hands, and which must, in course of time, have left the unhappy Leithers scarcely a stool to sit upon. They therefore could neither have beef nor pudding on their boards. No doubt, the English soldiery, particularly the officers, would take possession of those houses whose external appearance promised the best entertainment within ; but still, unless the conjecture we have hazarded be admitted, we conceive it to be impossible to account for a circumstance so paradoxical as the abundance and magnificence which Hertford's army found in Leith in 1544. Nor were these indications of wealth confined to the interior of the houses, or

exhibited only in the domestic comforts of the inhabitants: the whole town and shipping presented an appearance of prosperity, which altogether astounded the English, who, no doubt, had come down, full of the idea that they should meet with nothing but the extremity of poverty and wretchedness in "beggarly Scotland." Amongst the vessels which the invading army found in Leith, there were two of "notable fayrenis," the one called the Salamander, the other the Unicorn. The former, alongst with another ship, called the "Morischer," had been presented by the king of France to James V., on his marriage with the daughter of that monarch, the princess Magdaline;* the latter was built by the Scottish king himself. James had, besides these, other two ships, the Marrivellibe, and the Great Lyon; and these, it is probable, composed the whole navy of Scotland at this period. What became of these ships, or whether they were in existence at the time

* The French king's generosity to James, on this occasion, was not confined to the two ships spoken of in the text. Besides these, he presented the Scottish monarch with two ships of burden, loaded with powder, and other warlike stores; twenty-six pieces of brass ordnance; thirty small brass field-pieces; four suits of rich arras, hangings of eight pieces in each suit, wrought with gold and silk; four suits of hangings of cloth of gold and silver, impaled with velvet; eight suits of coarser arras; three cloths of state, of rich and excellent workmanship; three rich beds, with all their furniture of silk and gold; a large cupboard of plate, all over gilt, and curiously wrought; another cupboard of silver plate, ungilt—these alone cost 100,000 crowns; sixteen rich table-cloths, and twenty Persian carpets. To this princely gift, the French monarch added his daughter's dowry in hard cash.

of Hertford's invasion, we are unable to say ; at all events, they were not in Leith,—the Unicorn and Salamander, as we have already said, being the only vessels any way remarkable which the English found, although there appears to have been a great many of an ordinary description.

Hertford, having left fifteen hundred men in Leith, proceeded, with the remainder of his army, to lay waste the country around, agreeably to the instructions which he had received from the Council of England, and which were worthy of the spirit of the times, and the ferocity of the monarch who then filled the throne of England. The English general was commanded to put all to fire and sword, particularly the towns of Edinburgh and Leith, which he was ordered to plunder and then burn to the ground, sparing neither man, woman, nor child, should any resistance be offered. We might have expected better treatment of the Leithers, at the hands of Henry, on this occasion, from the good account given of them by Sir Ralph Sadler, in a letter to that monarch, dated Edinburgh, 31st July, 1543, wherein, speaking of Leith, he says, “ who be noted all to be good Christians.” Sir Ralph's recommendation, however, had no effect : the good Christians of Leith were doomed to share the fate of their more ungodly neighbours. Hertford's army was now occupied in fulfilling the object of its visit, devastating the country, for many miles round, with fire and sword. Nor was the fleet which brought them, commanded by Sir John Dud-

ley Viscount Lisle, less active in carrying on the work of destruction; every creek and harbour on both sides of the Frith was ransacked, and all boats or vessels found therein were immediately burnt, or otherwise destroyed.

Amongst the many other feats performed by the English army, during this invasion, was the burning of the monastery of Holyrood House, which was nearly wholly consumed. On this occasion, Sir Richard Lee, one of Hertford's officers, carried off the brazen font in which the children of the royal family had been usually baptized, and, after engraving upon it the following insolent inscription, presented it to the church of St Alban's in Hertfordshire: "When Leith, a town of good account in Scotland, and Edinburgh, the principal city of that nation, were on fire, Sir Richard Lee, knight, saved me out of the flames, and brought me into England. In gratitude to him for his kindness, I, who have hitherto served only at the baptism of the children of kings, do now most willingly offer the same service to the meanest of the English nation. Lee, the conqueror, hath so commanded. Adieu. A. D. 1545, in the 36th year of king Henry VIII." Hertford, after several days of unremitting exertion, having nearly completed the work of destruction, assembled his forces again in Leith, which, being the head-quarters of his army, and, besides, being the most suitable and convenient point from whence to embark the plunder his army had accumulated, re-

mained yet uninjured. The burning of Leith, therefore, was reserved as a *finale*, and to grace, by its conflagration, the departure of the invaders.

On the 13th day of May, however, they commenced operations in Leith by breaking down the pier, which was then of wood, and thereafter, to use the words of the author,* from whom a part of the above information is taken, and who was an eye-witness of the scene, "brent every stycke of it." Before proceeding to complete the destruction of the town, they removed out of the harbour the two king's ships already named, and every other vessel which they thought worth carrying away. All things being now prepared, the army ready to march, and every article of value which they could lay their hands upon and conveniently transport being put on board of the ships in the roads, they set fire at once to almost every house in the town, and in a short time reduced it wholly to ashes. The booty which the English carried off on this occasion, according to our author, was so immense as to overwhelm and distract even the plunderers themselves; for he says, with an affected and facetious sort of irritation, which is truly amusing, "we were almost pestered with the spoyle and botyes of our souldyars and maryners." Thus was Leith totally overthrown, and nothing left but a heap of blackened ruins to mark the place where it stood.

* W. Patten, who accompanied Hertford's army on the expedition, and afterwards wrote an account of it. For a more minute account of this pier, see *Antiquities*.

How the miserable inhabitants disposed of themselves after this terrible calamity, we are unable to say. Their neighbours, though willing, could render them no assistance, being involved in the same ruin with themselves. This fearful visitation must therefore have produced many of those heart-rending scenes of suffering humanity, which were but a too frequent consequence of the ruthless warfare of the period, when inhumanity was a boast, and murder and rapine a pastime. We are not told, however, that there was any slaughter of the inhabitants on this occasion. Hertford, although he acted rigorously up to his instructions, does not appear to have gone beyond them. As the town, therefore, made no resistance, the lives of its inhabitants, we presume, were spared. Previously to Hertford's setting out on this expedition, Henry entertained the idea of fortifying Leith, and of establishing there a permanent garrison. Upon more mature deliberation, however, and before the fleet sailed from England, he abandoned this project; and instead of commanding a settlement to be made in Leith, he, as we have already related, devoted the town, alongst with other places, to indiscriminate destruction. We may mention, by the way, that it was on the occasion of this invasion of Hertford's, that the Earl of Huntly said, in allusion to an opinion which was then generally entertained that Henry wished to compel the Scots to accede to the marriage of his son with their young queen, "I hae nae objections to the waddin, but I like na the

woon;" and indeed we must acknowledge it was a mode of courtship not at all calculated to make very tender impressions. The novelty, therefore, of making love with fire and sword, was reserved for Henry VIII., who himself conducted his amours on a principle not altogether dissimilar. The calamity which we have just recorded was the first, in point of magnitude, which, in connexion with the affairs of the kingdom, befel the unhappy town of Leith. From this period it stands, as it were, in the brunt of the battle, and shares liberally of the blows, and little else which such situations generally afford. The times were now getting busy, and a very few years saw Leith again in the possession of a hostile army, and subjected to similar treatment as on the former occasion.

After the unfortunate battle of Pinkie, fought on the 10th of September, 1547, a large body of the English army entered the town of Leith, whilst an immense fleet of the enemy, consisting of no less than sixty-five sail, thirty-five of which were ships of war, the rest being tenders and store-ships, arrived in the roads. The admiral of this fleet was Lord Clinton, the same who had commanded the ships which brought Hertford's army in 1544; the vice-admiral was Sir William Woodhouse; both men of ability and bravery, and but too ready to execute the vengeance of England.

On this occasion, Leith, to our great amazement, was again found in a flourishing state. The magni-

ficence which it exhibited in 1544, was matter of reasonable wonder ; but it appears altogether marvellous, that, in the short space of three years from its being burnt to the ground, it should again exhibit an appearance of renovation and prosperity. True it is, however, that the English found no less than thirteen ships in the harbour, and such quantities of wines, and other goods, that they were unable, though extremely willing, we may believe, to carry off the whole. Having, however, done the best they could, they once more set fire to the town. Patten asserts, that this was done without the orders, and against the inclination, of the General Hertford, now Duke of Somerset, and Protector of England, who, he says, merely commanded that the house of one Barton, who on a former occasion had "plaid an untrue pairt," should be burnt. However this may be, Barton's was not the only house which was consumed. We do not know exactly the extent of the mischief done to the town on this occasion ; but there is good reason to believe, that by far the greater part of it was again laid in ruins. Indeed, the same author says, that the soldiers, having begun the work of destruction with Barton's house, were not to be controlled. We may therefore safely conclude, that with such a spirit, the conflagration would soon become general. The annihilation of the shipping, with the exception of an old vessel which the soldiers burnt, was reserved for Clinton, who remained for some time in the Frith after the departure of the army, with the view of com-

pleting the destruction which he had begun in 1544, and of utterly demolishing the naval strength of Scotland. In pursuance of this object, he again searched every creek and harbour on both sides of the Frith, besides other places, burning all the small craft which he found therein. He visited the mouth of almost every river, where boats or vessels were likely to take shelter. He set fire to various sea-ports, and, in short, conducted his operations with such diligence, that he scarcely left one ship of force in the kingdom.

What Barton had done, what “vntrue pairt he had plaid,” to bring down upon his devoted head the vengeance of the English commander, on this occasion, we should like much to know ; but as no further light is thrown upon the subject, we must be content to remain in ignorance. We have, however, reason to believe, that it was in consequence of some depredations which he had committed, either on the English coasts or shipping at a former period, as the Bartons of Leith were then, and long before, famed for their naval exploits against that nation. As this name is, as we have already mentioned, somewhat famous in story, and connected with the history of Leith, we trust that a short account of that race of ancient and noted seamen will not be deemed an intrusion. The Bartons originally bore the title of Overberntoun, from a property of that name which they possessed. When they first settled in Leith, or commenced their naval career, we are unable to say ; but in a very old act of parliament we find them

spoken of as "ane auld honourable hous, and had dune gude service in ye weirs." The first, however, of the name, whom we find connected with the maritime history of the port, is a Sir Andrew Barton, who, in the reign of James III., with two ships, the one called the *Lion*, the other the *Jenny Perwin*, ranged alongst the English coasts, committing various and extensive depredations, and who at length became so formidable as to interrupt all navigation in those seas which he frequented. Sir Andrew was provided, on this occasion, with letters of reprisal against the Portuguese by King James; but it would appear that he was extremely apt to fall into the mistake of capturing English ships for those of the former nation.

We have no doubt that Sir Andrew was grieved to the heart when these unfortunate mistakes occurred; but, we would ask, what could he do? Before the blunder was discovered, it is probable that the crew of the captured vessel was either killed, drowned, or set on shore, the ship herself destroyed, and her cargo safely deposited under the hatches of the *Lion*, or the *Jenny Perwin*: nothing, therefore, remained for the unhappy commander, but to sit him down and bewail his misfortunes, and thereafter to form the resolution of being more cautious in future. Sir Andrew's mistakes, however, occurred so very frequently, that all England rang with an evil report of his doings; complaint after complaint was carried to the privy council; and the whole nation called out for vengeance on our hero, the honour of inflicting which was sought for

and obtained by the Earl of Surry, who patriotically and magnanimously declared, that "the narrow seas should not be so infested, while he had estate enough to furnish a ship, or a son capable of commanding it." Nor was this an idle boast: he immediately fitted out two stout well-armed ships, which he gave in command to his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, both men of note in the naval history of England. The Howards soon after put to sea in quest of the enemy, but in a few days thereafter were separated by a storm. In the meantime, however, Sir Thomas fell in with the *Lion*, on board of which was Sir Andrew Barton himself. The two ships immediately engaged, and a long and doubtful contest ensued. Barton, besides his own personal bravery, commanded a determined crew, who, accustomed to desperate deeds, and a life of hardship and desultory warfare, made an obstinate and bloody resistance. At length, however, Barton fell mortally wounded, when, dying as he had lived, he continued to cheer his men with a boatswain's whistle, until his undaunted soul forsook its mortal tenement. None, we conceive, ever answered Burns' heart-stirring and exquisite description of a dying hero better, than did this "ancient mariner:"

Death comes, wi' fearless ee he sees him ;

Wi' bluidy hand a welcome gies him ;

And, whan he fa's,

His latest draught o' breathin lea's him

In faint huzzas.

The death of their captain was perhaps the only circumstance which could have induced his gallant crew to submit. This, however, they at length did, and were generously treated by their conquerors. Sir Edward Howard, not less fortunate than his brother, fell in with the consort of the *Lion*, which, after an obstinate encounter, he also took. The two ships, with those of their crew who remained alive, being no less than one hundred and fifty men, were brought triumphantly into the Thames by their captors on the 2d of August, 1511. The next of the name of Barton whom we fall in with, is he who held the appointment, as our readers will recollect, of "maister skipper" on board of the *Michael*, in the same year in which Sir Andrew Barton was killed, and whose son we think it probable he was. This conjecture is strengthened by the circumstance that James IV. who then filled the Scottish throne, greatly resented the death of Sir Andrew. It is therefore not unlikely that that monarch, with the view of befriending the family of the latter, gave Robert Barton, him of whom we now speak, the appointment in the *Michael* just mentioned, and who, it is probable, was ruined by the misfortune which befel, as we presume, his father. Of the "maister skipper" of the *Michael*, however, we know nothing more, and therefore take it for granted, that his life was not further distinguished by any remarkable occurrence. In the year 1543, we again find the Bartons making a figure in the naval history of Leith, and sufficiently formidable to attract the at-

tention of the imperious Henry VIII. as appears by the following extract from another letter to that monarch, written by Sir Ralph Sadler, when in Scotland, and dated the 25th October, 1543. "John a Barton is not yet gone to the seas, but it is told me that as soon as the wind serveth, he will go with the Mary Willoughby, and nine sail more, half merchants and half men of war, as well furnished of men and artillery as any ships that went from Scotland these many years, being determined, as I am informed, to accomplish their voyage intended to Bourdeaux, or else to die rather than they will be taken." In another letter, dated 13th November, in the same year, Sir Ralph says, "John a Barton, who is esteemed a principal man of the town of Leith, is much dedicate to the King's Majesty." We however suspect, that the event showed that John was not altogether so much "dedicate to the King's Majesty" as Sir Ralph was inclined to believe; and we further suspect, as we have before said, that it was some act at an after-period, on the part of this same Barton, in violation of the good opinion entertained of him by the former, which led Hertford to single him out, as already related, as an object of special vengeance. At all events, it is obvious, that he, whose offences were made an apology for burning Leith, could not have been "much dedicate to the King's Majesty," or rather to the interest of his kingdom, for Henry was by that time dead; otherwise, we may presume, he would have met with very

different treatment. From several circumstances, which appear in the conduct and character of the Bartons, and which, we presume, were common to that of other sea-faring men of Leith in those days, though of less eminence than the Bartons, it seems to us, that the town was at that period little short of being another Algiers, and that its ship-masters did not hesitate to eke out the lawful earnings of the year, by an occasional act of something not altogether unlike piracy. We do, however, charitably suppose, that this was only resorted to when a year of unprofitable trading had made some such shift absolutely necessary, and that they were not altogether *hostes humani generis*. However this may be, there is little doubt that many of the Leith sea-captains, who were opulent enough to fit out proper armaments, as Sir Andrew Wood and Barton had done, made almost an exclusive trade of plundering English ships, and committing depredations on the coasts of that kingdom, an occupation which the constant hostility of the two countries rendered at least not unlawful, and which was certainly not unjust, as they frequently experienced similar treatment at the hands of the English, who, as early as 1313, burnt the vessels in the harbour of Leith, besides doing other damage to the town; and again, in 1410, an English fleet, consisting of ten sail, and commanded by Sir Robert Umfreville, entered the Forth, ravaged the coasts on both sides, and burnt the shipping which was found in the different harbours, and, amongst the rest, all

those that were in Leith. On this occasion Sir Robert destroyed the largest ship which then belonged to Scotland, called the Grand Galliot of Blackness; he also carried off, from this expedition, fourteen ships, and such an immense quantity of corn, as reduced the price of that article in England, from which circumstance his countrymen were ungrateful enough to bestow upon him, ever after, the nick-name of Robin Mendmarket. Leith was again ransacked, and its shipping destroyed, in the year 1522, by Sir William Fitz-William, Vice Admiral of the English fleet, who, in that year, entered the Frith, with a squadron of seven frigates, and burnt every vessel he could find. The next and most destructive incursions of the English, in 1544 and 1547, we have spoken of elsewhere. Besides these more formidable and ruinous aggressions of the English, Leith itself, and the vessels belonging to the port, were often annoyed, and frequently plundered, by individual adventurers of that nation, who, with a single ship or two, were constantly prowling about the mouth of the Frith, and making prey of all that were weaker than themselves. It may not be improper to remark here, that there is not perhaps any one circumstance in the history of Leith more singular than its amazingly rapid resuscitations from almost total annihilation. Phœnix-like, it continued to spring up from its ashes into full strength and vigour, with an endless and indestructible existence. We have already expressed our surprise, that it should have so soon recovered the

calamity which befel it in 1544. This surprise is again excited, by finding, that it still more quickly surmounted the disaster of 1547, as in two years afterwards it is styled by Beague the emporium of Scotland, and deemed otherwise a place of great importance. The peculiar and manifold local advantages of which Leith is possessed, its contiguity to the capital of the kingdom, the facilities and conveniences which it afforded to the commercial interests of the country, would, no doubt, call forth every exertion on the part of those in any way connected with the town, or its trade, to repair, with all expedition, the injuries which it sustained; yet these were, at the two last-mentioned periods, of such magnitude, and so overwhelming, that we are really at a loss to conceive how, or by what means, they were so quickly surmounted, and must therefore content ourselves with merely stating, as we have already done, the facts.

After the year 1547, we find Leith involved, less or more, in almost every transaction of importance which occurred in the kingdom during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, who, soon after this period, began to take an active part in the affairs of the nation. By her representations, the Scottish nobles, who found themselves unable to maintain the contest in which they were then engaged with England, were induced to invite the French to their assistance. Accordingly, in the year 1549, Monsieur Desse, an experienced commander, arrived at Leith with an army of six

thousand men, all veteran soldiers, trained in the wars of Francis I. The arrival of this force at Leith is thus sung by an unknown poet of the times :

At Leith they landit, harmeless, in the haven,
 With powder and bullet, gunnis, and uther geir,
 Drest all their platfurmes in to dayis seuin,
 Nor laiking naething that belangit to weir.

Desse perceiving the importance of securing a place possessed of so many advantages, immediately proceeded to fortify the town, by throwing strong and regular works* around it. The only circumstance worthy of notice, besides this, which occurred whilst that general remained in Leith, was the taking of Inchkeith,† which had been fortified by, and was at that time in possession of the English. Desse quickly perceived the impropriety of permitting that country to maintain a garrison, in a situation which was calculated to afford them so many advantages, and from which they could, with so much ease and safety to themselves, commit depredations on the neighbouring coasts, whilst, by returning to the is-

* See Antiquities.

† Not to pass over any curious circumstance which has come to our knowledge regarding this famous little island, we subjoin the following piece of information, taken from our old friend Lindsay : “ King James IV. caused tak ane dumb woman, and put her in Inchkeith, and gave her two bairnes with her, and gart furnich her in all necessarie things pertaining to their nourishment, desiring heirby to know quhat languages they had when they came to the age of perfyte speech. Some sayes they spak guid Hebrew !”

land, upon any alarm, they were secure from pursuit, and out of all danger from sudden surprisals. Seeing the necessity, therefore, of dislodging the enemy from this stronghold, and probably considering it, as it really was, both a humiliating and provoking circumstance to the country which he came to assist, that an enemy should maintain, with a handful of men; a position which enabled them to heard, as it were, the whole kingdom, ordered one of his officers, Monsieur de Biron, to sail out and reconnoitre the island. Biron accordingly embarked in the galley of one Villegaignon,* and rowed round Inchkeith, carefully noting every circumstance which might impede or facilitate the success of the premeditated attack; and so faithfully did he perform this duty, that, although he was nearly the whole time within reach of the enemy's harquebusses, he brought back the most minute information regarding their numbers and condition, and the state of the works upon the island. Mary of Lorraine, who, since the arrival of her countrymen, was much in Leith, although she had not yet fixed her residence there, took so great an interest in the projected expedition against Inchkeith, that she superintended, in person, the embarkation of the troops destined for the attack, which took place on the Thursday after Trinity. The French at first endeavoured to conceal their in-

* It was this galley that afterwards carried the unfortunate Queen Mary, yet a child, from Dumbarton to France.

tention from those upon the island ; but finding themselves discovered, they made directly for the rock, on which, after a severe contest, they effected a landing, and drove the enemy to the higher parts of the island, where at length Cotton, the commander of the English, was killed, and with him George Applebie, one of his captains. Besides these, a number of gentlemen of some note also fell on the side of the English. The garrison, finally, reduced to a few men, retired to a remote corner of the island, where, without further resistance, they yielded themselves prisoners. In this assault, Biron was shot through the hand by a harquebuss, and had his burguenet * so beaten into his head, that he had to be carried into one of his own boats, to have his wounds dressed. His standard-bearer, one Desbois, was also killed, amongst with Gaspur Strozzi, captain of a party of Italians ; the former fell beneath the pike of the English commander. Excepting these, however, we are not told that any person of note on the side of the French fell on this occasion. Thus was Inchkeith taken, after being in possession of the English only sixteen days. The capturing of this little island, though not a very momentous affair, is yet, we conceive, remarkable for the bravery it elicited. Nothing could exceed the gallantry of the little band who attempted to defend it. They disputed every inch of rock, for it cannot be called ground, with their antagonists, and

* A kind of helmet.

yielded only, when there was no longer any hope of success from resistance, and when their numbers were so reduced as to make the contest altogether unequal.

Upon the conclusion of a peace, shortly after this event, between Henry II. of France, Warwick, Protector of England, and the Scottish Nobles, Desso returned with his army to France, (1550) leaving Leith, however, now a strongly fortified town. This momentous circumstance in the annals of the port, whilst it rendered it one of the most important places in Scotland, was at the same time the principal, if not sole cause, of its being so deeply involved in the subsequent troubles of the kingdom. Mary of Lorraine, now elected Regent, early saw and appreciated the importance which Leith had acquired by its fortifications, and determined to secure to her own interest the advantages arising therefrom. With this view, and as a preliminary step, she came to reside in the town. The motives must indeed have been powerful, which could induce a Queen to forsake the splendid mansions of our Scottish Kings, and take up her abode in the very heart of a crowded and inelegant sea-port. Her reasons, however, for taking this step, were of sufficient weight to remove all surprise at the choice she had made. By various unadvised proceedings, the Queen Regent had greatly offended her nobility, and therefore conceived she had little faith to put in their forbearance. She was also desirous of keeping up a communication with her native country, and seems to have entertained the idea, that she might maintain her authority in the kingdom by

means of French troops. By residing in Leith, therefore, she in a great measure secured herself from any violence which the irritated nobles might have projected, and commanded every facility for carrying on a correspondence with France. In order to ingratiate herself with the inhabitants of Leith, whose good will she was, for obvious reasons, desirous to propitiate, and to secure them to her own and her daughter's interest, she obliged herself, by a contract, dated at Holyrood House, 30th January, 1555, to erect the town into a burgh of barony, with letters of bailiery, to continue in force until she erected it into a royal burgh; preparatory to which she purchased, with money advanced to her by the people of Leith for that purpose, the superiority of the town, and of the Links for the use of the inhabitants, from Logan of Restalrig, for the sum of £3000 Scottish money,* to be paid within three years after the date

* The original receipts for this money, which seems to have been payable in equal instalments of £500, are still preserved, along with several other curious documents, in the town's chambers of Leith. A copy of one of these receipts we now take the liberty of subjoining, as a matter of some curiosity.

"Be it kend till all men, be thir present letters, me, Robert Logane of Restalrig, grantis me ressevit from Walter Cant and Florance Carn-toun, bailies of the toun of Leith, in name and behalf of our Sovereane Lady, her derest Moder Marye, Quene and Regent of this realme, the soume off fyve hundreth poundis, usuale money of Scotland, in part of payment of three thousand pound, premitted be the saide Quene and Regent to me for the renunciatioun and overgiving of my superiority of this said town, to our saide Sovereane lady, and of that of the terme of the nativitie of our Lord, callit Yule, last by past, of the quhilk soumme of fyve hundreth pounds of the saide terme, in part of

of the contract. Besides advancing this money, the Leithers had stipulated with the Regent herself, that, in consideration of her erecting the town into a free burgh, they would also furnish as much timber as would repair the King's work, and pay an annual rent perpetually out of every tenement built or to be built in the town of Leith. She, on her part, bound herself to restore the sum advanced for the superiority, and the value of the timber, provided she could not prevail upon her daughter to consent to the emancipation of the town. The Queen Dowager, however, failed in her engagements, and Leith never was promoted to the rank of a royal burgh, although Mary lived five years after this period, a sufficient time surely to have enabled her, had she been inclined, to fulfil her promise to the Leithers. Kincaid, in his History of Edinburgh, mentions it as being matter of report, and we find the circumstance related also by Knox, that the inhabitants of Leith had agreed to pay the Queen Dowager 10,000 merks, in consideration of her erecting their town into a burgh royal, and that the City of Edinburgh had offered her

payment of the saide soume of three thousand pounds, I hald me weel content, and thankfully peyit be the saidis ballies, in numerat money, and for me, my aires and assynis, quyt claimes and discharges oure saide souveraine lady, her deerest moder, the baillies forsaidis, and all otheris theirof. Be thir presentis, subscrivit with my hand, at Leith, the tent daye of Marche, the zeir of God ffifteen hundred and ffiftie-six zeirs, before thir witnisses, M. Jon Logane, persone of Restalrig, and M. Mathew ——— Jon ——— ut utheris sic subscribitur in principali.

“ Robert Logan of Restalrig.”

20,000 to prevent it. In consequence of this proffer, (of course accepted,) they allege it was that the Regent broke her promise to the people of Leith. Whether these assertions be true or false, it would be difficult now to determine. We do, however, incline to think, that there has been some foundation for the rumour, since, admitting its truth, we find the faithless conduct of the Queen, on this occasion, sufficiently accounted for; otherwise, she would appear to have done a dishonourable act without a motive. Besides, it has so much the appearance of an Edinburgh bargain, two or three of which, and somewhat similar to that now spoken of, will be found in this history, that we cannot refuse our belief of its authenticity. At all events, it is certain, that the inhabitants of Leith were duped out of their £3000, which they never afterwards recovered. Upon the whole, it appears to us, that the friendship of the Queen Dowager, a woman who, as Knox says, "could make her profit at all hands," to the people of Leith, was at best but equivocal, if it is not decidedly a misnomer. She induced them to advance money under promises which she never made good, and which, there is reason to believe, she was bribed not to perform. She shortly after this, when a body of French troops, under Monsieur D'Oysel, which she had sent for, came to Leith, permitted the soldiers to dispossess, by force, a great number of the inhabitants of their houses, whom, with their wives and children, she saw driven forth of their homes, to seek a wretch-

ed and precarious subsistence by appealing to the charity of others, without any feeling of compassion, or any attempt to render their unhappy fate less miserable. If, after considering the circumstances just related, Mary of Lorraine be said to have been a friend to Leith, we should like much to know what description of conduct would subject any one to the imputation of being its enemy.

The Queen Regent, having now come to an open rupture with her nobles, and having in Leith a French force at her command, began to repair those parts of the ramparts which had become, through negligence, insufficient. This proceeding greatly alarmed the lords of the congregation, and materially widened the breach between the Queen and these champions of the reformed religion, who at first endeavoured to dissuade her from proceeding with her warlike operations, and, with this view, despatched to her the following remonstrance :

“ Apud Hamilton, 29th Sept. 1559.

“ *MADAM,*—We are credibly informed that your army of Frenchmen should instantly begin to plant in Leith, and to fortify the same, of a mind to expel the ancient inhabitants thereof, our brethren of the congregation, whereof we marvel not a little that your Majesty should so manifestly break the appointment made at Leith, without any provocation given by us and our brethren, and seeing the same is done without any manner of consent of the nobility and council of the realme, we esteem the same not only op-

60 LETTER FROM LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.

pressive of our poor brethren and indwellers of the said town, but also very prejudicial to the commonwealth, and plain contrary to our ancient laws and liberties. We therefore desire your Majesty to cause the same work enterprised to be staid, and not to attempt so rashly and so manifestly against your Majesty's promise to the commonwealth, the ancient laws and liberties thereof, (which things, besides the glory of God, are most dear and tender to us, and only our pretence), otherwise, assuring your Majesty, we will complain to the whole nobility and commonalty of this realme, and most earnestly seek for redress thereof. And thus recommending our humble service unto your Highness, whom we commit to the eternal protection of God, expecting earnestly your answer. At Hamilton, the day and year aforesaid, by your Majesty's humble and obedient servitors, &c." This letter was subscribed by the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, and Monteith; by the Lords Ruthven, Ochiltree, Boyd, and various other barons and gentlemen. The "appointment made in Leith," which her Majesty is accused of having broken, was a contract between her and the lords of the congregation, dated at Leith Links, where, on the 24th July, 1559, with a caution which marks the state of the times, an interview had taken place between the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and others, on the part of the lords of the congregation, and the Duke of Hamilton, then in the interest of the Queen, the Earl of Huntly, and the French commander,

D'Oysel, on the part of her Majesty. The substance of this contract was; that they, the lords of the congregation, should remain dutiful and obedient subjects to the Queen; and observe all the laws and customs of the realme; that the Regent, on her part, should not in any way molest the preachers of the reformed religion. These articles were duly subscribed by the leading men on both sides. The Queen, however, shortly thereafter, in direct violation of this contract, ordered the minister's chair in South Leith Church to be broken, and the Catholic mode of worship to be again adopted there. To the remonstrance of the lords of the congregation, her Majesty replied by another; and amongst other arguments, by which she endeavoured to defend her conduct, we find the following, couched in a simile which places her Majesty in the situation of a harmless little bulfinch or linnet, surrounded by a squadron of ferocious hawks, as if she were in constant danger of being clutched in the talons of my lords of Arran and Argyle, or gored with the beaks of Ruthven and Ochiltree. Speaking of that passage in their letter, which accuses her of fortifying Leith, she says: "And like as a small bird, being pursued, will provide some nest, so her Majesty could do no less, in case of pursuit, but provide some sure retreat for herself and her company; and to that effect chose the town of Leith, a place convenient therefore, because it was her dearest daughter's property, and no other person could claim title or interest thereto, and also because in former times it

had been fortified ;”* and modestly concluded with recommending it to them to submit to her unconditionally, and to trust to her clemency and generosity. To this reply of the Queen’s, the lords of the congregation answered in language which was any thing but ambiguous. Amongst other things, they took the liberty of favouring her Majesty with their opinion of the Frenchmen who were with her in Leith, whom they, on this occasion, complimented by saying, “that no honest men durst commit themselves to the mercy of such throat-cutters.” All hopes of an amicable arrangement with the Queen being now at an end, the lords of the congregation, resolved on summary and determined measures, prepared to attack Leith with their forces, and accordingly sat down before it, in the month of October, 1559. Before proceeding to extremities, however, they sent a messenger to the walls, who, by sound of trumpet, summoned the town in the following terms : “I require and charge, in the name of our sovereign Lord and Lady, and of the council presently in Edinburgh, that all Scots and Frenchmen, of whatever estate and degree they be, depart out of the town of Leith, within the space of twelve hours, and make the same patent to

* As this is a piece of information which we find nowhere else, we may mention, that we think it alludes to the period only when it was fortified by Desse, ten years before, and not to any previous fortification, as we cannot discover that any military work existed in Leith before the arrival of that commander. At all events, it is certain, that the town was not walled previous to that event, and that, if any fortification did exist in Leith, it was neither of any extent or importance.

all and sundry our sovereign lady's leiges, for, seeing we have no such hatred at either the one or the other,* that we thirst for the blood of any of the two, for the one is our natural brother, born, nourished, and brought up within the bowels of one common country, and with the other, our nation hath continued long in amity and alliance, and hopeth that so shall do, so long as they use us as friends, and not strive to make slaves of friends, which the strengthening of our town portendeth, and therefore most heartily desire the one and the other to desist from fortifying, or maintaining of this town, in our sovereign's and their said council's name, requiring them to make the same free within the space of twelve hours."

To this long-winded summons no satisfactory answer was given. When the time allowed therefore had expired, the forces of the congregation proceeded to the attack, but unluckily, their scaling-ladders, upon being applied to the walls, were found too short. Nor could better have happened them, these ladders having been wickedly and irreverently made in St Giles' Church, to the great offence of the ministers of Edinburgh, who prognosticated that defeat and disaster would be the consequence of such a piece of monstrous iniquity. The army of the congregation, disheartened by the tremendous idea, that the vengeance of Heaven hung suspended over their heads,

* Their Lordships are a little inconsistent here ; but a short while before, in their letter to the Queen, they called her Frenchmen by the tender and endearing appellation of throat-cutters.

ready to overwhelm them, on the first opportunity, for their sins in general, but for the ladders in particular, and having, besides, become mutinous for want of pay, shewed but small inclination for fighting. In order to obviate the latter evil, their commanders proposed that a collection should be made. This shift was accordingly tried, but, either from a real scarcity of cash, or an unwillingness to part with it, little or nothing was raised. Disappointed in this measure, it was again proposed, that a coining-house should be erected, and that every nobleman should coin his silver work and plate. The operation of coining, it was agreed, should be committed to one David Ferris, and one John Hart. But here again disappointment awaited them; for when matters were brought to the point, it was discovered that John had decamped with the instruments of coining. In this dilemma, the harassed and heart-broken lords came to the resolution of sending one of their number, Cockburn, laird of Ormiston, to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, who then commanded jointly in Berwick, to seek assistance. The laird was accordingly despatched; and in order to prevent accidents, as far as possible, he set out upon his errand with all manner of secrecy and expedition. From the unfortunate termination, however, of this legation, it would appear that the business of the ladders had been a much more serious one than even the army of the congregation had supposed it, for nothing succeeded in which these unhappy kirk-made imple-

ments had, or were likely to have, any sort of connexion. The laird of Ormiston did not, with all his precaution, get off so quietly, but that the Queen, by means of spies, got notice of his departure, and of the object of his mission. In consequence of this intelligence, the Earl of Bothwell way-laid the laird on his return, wounded him severely, and robbed him of four thousand crowns of the sun, which he had obtained from Sadler and Crofts for the use of the army of the congregation. The soldiers now wholly disheartened by these repeated disappointments, became inactive, irresolute, and disorderly. In this state of matters, the besieged, seizing a favourable conjuncture, when the horsemen of the enemy were absent, and the remainder of the troops at dinner, made a furious and desperate sally from the town. In an instant the rout of the army of the congregation, wholly unprepared for this impetuous assault, became general and bloody. Without striking a blow, or attempting to make any resistance whatever, they fled towards Edinburgh in the utmost confusion and dismay. The Frenchmen, determined to complete what they had so successfully begun, pursued the fugitives to the foot of Leith Wynd, putting all whom they overtook to instant death. Some men from Dundee, commanded by the provost of that town, did attempt to make something like a stand against the enemy on this occasion, but, being unsupported, they were quickly compelled to join the flight of their comrades. In the meantime, the Queen, greatly rejoiced at the suc-

cess of her troops, hastened to ascend the ramparts of the town, in order to welcome the return of her victorious soldiers. From this situation, observing several of them carrying such plunder as they had been fortunate enough to fall in with, the most conspicuous of which—and, we believe, the most valuable—were pots, pans, kirtles, and petticoats,* jocularly inquired, where they had bought their ware? Thus terminated this weak and ill-conducted attempt upon Leith, whose strong bulwarks were calculated to resist a much greater force, and more systematic operations, than those of the confused and undisciplined army of the congregation. From the following letter, dated Berwick, 5th November, 1559, from Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, to Secretary Cecil, it appears, that the Queen Dowager's army, at this period, did not amount to more than 3000 men: "Touching your desire to know what Scots be with the Queen Dowager, and how many Frenchmen; as far as we can learn, there be no Scots of any name with her in Leith, but the Lord Seatoun, and the Lord Borthwick, with the inhabitants of the town. For the rest, as the Earl of Bothwell, who is on her side, and such others as seem to favour her party, do remain at home, by her consent, until she require their aid. It is said, that there be in Leith about 3000 Scots and Frenchmen in wage."

* Petticoats and kirtles! Damning proof this, we conceive, of inglorious war, and an eternal reflection on the gallantry of Frenchmen.

What share the inhabitants of Leith took in the military operations of the town, we are not told ; and therefore conclude, that they had not displayed any remarkable eagerness in the cause of the Queen, whose professions of friendship, they, no doubt, had begun to discover, were likely to yield them but small benefit, nor indeed could they expect much from a woman, who had the effrontery to say, that “ the promises of princes ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unless it suits their own conveniency.” At all events, the Leithers, it is probable, did not feel much gratified by the results of that proof of her Majesty’s loving-kindness, her coming to reside amongst them,—seeing that these were the burdening them with a foreign army ; the forcible expulsion of a great number of them from their own houses ; the subjecting them to all the dangers and privations of a siege ; and, in short, bringing the united vengeance of a whole kingdom about their ears. These considerations must, therefore, in the opinion of the Leithers, as certainly they do in ours, have greatly qualified the honour which her Majesty conferred upon them by condescending to live amongst them, a circumstance which, so far from removing or ameliorating the grievances under which they already laboured, increased them tenfold. Thus, the unhappy Leithers, whether they had a Queen or the burgesses of Edinburgh to deal with, were invariably the losers ; by the one they were cheated and cajoled, by the other brow-beat and

oppressed. Although the former might have been inclined to afford the people of Leith all the facilities for trading over which she had any control, and might have taken it upon her to remove some of the restraints imposed upon them by the Edinburghers, yet such a disposition could be of little service to the Leithers, whilst their town was kept in a hostile attitude, and all communication with the neighbouring country cut off.

We now come to that important epoch in the annals of the town, the siege of Leith, an event whose results tended more than any other to strengthen and establish the reformed religion in the kingdom, besides being attended with other consequences, second only to that in importance. The lords of the congregation, finding themselves unable, without assistance, to make any impression on a place so strongly fortified as Leith, being unprovided with artillery, and other necessaries for such an undertaking, applied to Elizabeth for aid. That Queen, from motives of policy, which are to be found at length in the history of Scotland, but which we deem it unnecessary to introduce here, readily complied with their request, and soon after despatched Lord Gray, of Wilton, into Scotland, with an army of about six thousand men. On the 1st day of April, 1559, this army came in sight of Leith, and pitched their camp at Restalrig, where they were joined by the lords of the congregation, viz. the Earls of Argyle, Montrose, and Glencairn; the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree; the Prior of St Andrew's, the Master of Maxwell, and several

other noblemen and gentlemen of note, with 2000 men.' On this occasion the council of Edinburgh contributed £1600 Scots, as a month's pay for 400 men to assist in the reduction of Leith, a sum which enabled each of these warriors to live at the rate of 2½d. sterling per diem. On the approach of the English army, the Queen, whose health was now much impaired, not choosing to expose herself to the hazards of a siege, retired into the Castle of Edinburgh, from the ramparts of which, however, she daily and anxiously watched the proceedings before Leith. So soon as the garrison in the town got notice of the near approach of the English army, and before the latter could complete their encampment at Restalrig, they despatched a detachment, consisting of 900 harquebussiers, under the command of a Colonel Martigues, against the enemy. This comparatively little band, with a bravery which, with all their faults, is characteristic of the nation to which they belonged, sallied out of the town, regardless of the superior numbers which they must have known they were to encounter, crossed the Links, and took possession of Hawk Hill, when a severe and bloody contest immediately ensued, with "hagbuts, caleevres, and pistolets." At length the French, after gallantly maintaining an unequal combat for several hours, were compelled to retire, and were finally driven back into the town with great slaughter. Soon after this, the French attempted a *ruse de guerre*, which, however, was not more successful than the open attack

which we have just recorded. They despatched a messenger to Lord Gray, requesting a short cessation of hostilities. This the English commander readily granted. Under protection of this truce, great numbers of the French soldiers began to flock about the English encampment, as if attracted thither merely by curiosity; a great many also secreted themselves in the neighbourhood. At length, when they thought their numbers sufficient, and the opportunity fitting for carrying the enterprise which they had in view into effect, a party of them, still maintaining the character of mere loungers, purposely approached so near the English camp, as to give offence to the guards, with whom they wished to pick a quarrel, in order that some excuse might be furnished them for breaking the truce. The matter being reported to Lord Gray, he immediately despatched a message to the intruders, requiring them instantly to retire. To this they replied, that they knew of no right which he had to order them off their master's grounds. They were then told, that if it had not been for the truce which subsisted between the two armies, no reasoning on the matter would have been listened to, and that they would have been compelled to obey. On this, the Frenchmen dared those with whom they held conference to do their worst, and, without further altercation, suddenly discharged their curriars directly in the faces of those nearest them. This was the signal for a general attack, which immediately commenced. Those who were in ambush rushed from their

hiding-places, and joined the fray, as did those also who were hovering around awaiting this event. The English, taken by surprise, were at first greatly alarmed and dismayed; the whole camp resounded with the noise of a sudden, confused, and desperate affray; the soldiers were to be seen flying to arms in all directions, and yet ignorant of the cause of the dreadful uproar which prompted them instinctively to arm. At every turn they were met and butchered by their furious assailants, and nothing was to be heard but the shouts of the combatants, and the incessant discharge of fire-arms. At length, however, the English having recovered from their panic, by the superiority of their numbers, and a more collected and steady opposition, succeeded in driving the enemy from their encampment, and ultimately compelled them to retreat into the town, which, however, they did deliberately and in good order. In this affray the French had 140 common men killed, besides twelve persons of note, and five more taken prisoners. How many fell on the side of the English, we are unable to say, but may reasonably conclude, that their loss could not have been less than that of their enemies. Before proceeding further with our account of the various operations which followed these encounters, we shall take the liberty of laying before our readers a few stanzas taken from an old poem, entitled the "Siege of Leith," or, as its author says, "more aptly called the Schole of Warre," This poem is the

work of one Thomas Churchyard, who accompanied the English army on the occasion which it celebrates, and who was present during the whole time of the siege. We trust that the antiquity of the poem, and the minuteness of the information which it affords, will be a sufficient apology, if apology be necessary, for inserting a portion of it here. We pass over a good deal of preliminary and extraneous matter in the poem, and begin with the 30th stanza, which announces the approach of the English army to Leith. We must further observe, that we give those verses only where the subject is strictly in accordance with the object of this work, and therefore occasionally omit intermediate stanzas.

In shot of Leith, within Lastericke, then
We pitcht our campe, where canons cabins brake,
And oft, by chaunce, it kild a horse or man ;
But no man would the campe therefore forsake :
Sutch tennis-ballis did keep our men awake,
And quicken those that were dull-sprited souls,
And made some ladds to digge them depe in holes.

To save the ward from harme of enmyes shot,
Ful many a trenche did Pellam cause be wrought ;
Loke what was meete, there was few things forgot ;
Our power so small, by every way we sought !
To kepe the same ; but that availed nought :
Some were so rude, they ran their death to seeke ;
So this decreasit our number euery weeke.

A bishop came from France to treat a peace ;*
 Muche talke there was, which tyme consumed still ;
 But all this whyle the wars did nothing cease :
 To hunt our foes, we never wanted will.
 At length, wppon a rocke, a craggy hill,
 We plaest a piece, and in a trenche below,
 Was other store of smaller shot also.

Forget not here, the weather on the seas
 Would not permit the canons for to lande ;
 The longer here we lay, to our disease.
 For lacke thereof, which few do vnderstand,
 I would demaunde, how we should take in hande
 To lay a siege, or els our campe remoue,
 When mast things lackt, that was for our behoue.

Among our men, might Scottish vitlers haunt,
 Who, with the French, a treason tooke in hande ;
 A wyfe, a queane, did make the French a graunt,
 Vpon this rocke, in sight of Leith, to stande,
 And there to make a signe to Dozis band,
 When that the wards were careless, and at reste,
 Which she did kepe,—herselfe the same confest.

The French came on, as they thus warned were ;
 Lyke men of warre, they chose their tyme ful well ;
 Our men start vp, amasde with sodayne feare ;
 But what was best to do, they could not tell.
 Some loveing fame, his lyfe did dearly sell ;
 Some hating death, did sone from danger shonne ;
 Some, past all shame, ful fast away did runne.

* The Bishop of Valence.

Some made defence, but still they strove in vayne ;
 Once order broke, farewell the fight that howre.
 So in this beate was many a souldier slayne ;
 There was no helpe, they were orelayed with powre.
 Thus have you heard, how fortune 'gan to lowre
 Vppon oure men. The chaunce of warre is suche,
 A man may not, at no tyme, trust it muche.

Great terror made the curriars in our face,
 Some slaughter too, by that to us arose ;
 But yet, in spyte, the foe forsoke the place,
 And straight to Leith, in hast, the enemy goes.
 Aleyde, quoth we, ye part not without blows.
 Vpon them rose the boldest men we had ;
 Al had not charge, that day the way that lad.

By deep foresight, a mounte there was devised,
 Which bare the name of Pellam, for the space.
 I had forgot how Frenchmen cam disgisde
 In women's weedes. Like queans, with muffled face,
 They did no acte, but soone they tooke the chace.
 I let that passe, and of the mount I treate,
 Where, to be playne, the service was full greate.

The captayne there, ane Cuthbert Vaughan was,
 And, joyned with him, there were a number me ;
 This mount thus made, the campe away did passe
 More neare the towne, how mutch I neede not shoe.
 This mounte to Leith was still a dayly foe.
 The pieces there along the rampart shot ;
 Some harme they did, but what full fewe men wot.

Upon the sandes they could not cockells seeke,
 But that this force might easily them anoy ;
 Some dearly bought their muskels eury weeke ;
 Some sacrificde their horse to sweete Sanct Loy ;
 Some in their heads did take so mad a toy,
 They neuer spake a word, ne good nor ill ;
 Some learnede to feele the weight of our black bill.

Thus the poet goes on, in his own jog-trot way, through no less than eighty-four stanzas, detailing the various skirmishes which took place between the besiegers and the besieged. As we think, however, we have given enough to gratify curiosity, and, besides, do not consider poetry as the best vehicle for conveying historical information, we shall go over part of the ground again in plain prose, although at the risk of becoming tedious by repetition.

After the party of Frenchmen under Martigues were driven back into the town, as we have already related, the English army took possession of Hawk Hill, on which they immediately planted their cannon, themselves occupying the front of that rising ground extending to Hermitage Hill, which overlooks the Links. The position was a commanding one, and well chosen ; but in those days, when the science of gunnery was but imperfectly known, it was found to be too far distant to enable the English artillery to injure either the town or its fortifications. Here, however, they remained for some time, and proceeded to throw up bulwarks, and dig trenches in front of their encampment, to defend it from the frequent sallies of

the besieged, who, with a restless and undaunted bravery, which neither the frequent and sanguinary repulses they met with, nor the superior numbers of their enemies, could put a stop to. Scorning the inglorious security of the town, these indefatigable warriors continued, both by night and day, to harass their enemies by sudden and furious assaults, which it required the utmost vigilance on the part of the latter to prevent, being attended with serious consequences. At length, however, the English, in place of awaiting patiently, as they had hitherto done, within their entrenchments, the assaults of the besieged, and remaining satisfied with repulsing them from their encampment, began to pursue a more active warfare. They now, on perceiving any detachments of the enemy approaching from the town, immediately despatched an equal force to meet them. Thus the hostile parties generally met mid-way on the Links, which, from this practice, became a sort of tilting-ground or arena, whereon the fiery spirits of both sides sought danger and renown. As these encounters took place within sight of the camp and the town, and were looked upon with interest by both, they were generally of a very sanguinary character. The combatants, eager to display their prowess, and conscious that their valour was witnessed by their companions in arms on the one hand, and their enemies on the other, fought with all the desperation which such incitements are apt to produce. The English, however, soon began to weary of a warfare, which, whatever were its various

results, tended but little to forward the object they had in view, and which, by harassing and destroying their army by detail, threatened to leave them soon too weak to attempt the enterprise for which they were destined. From these considerations, they determined immediately to adopt yet more important and decisive measures. Accordingly, finding that their cannon did little or no execution from the high grounds, they descended to the plain, or Links, where they threw up mounds* of earth, on which they placed their guns. Being now nearer to the town, their shot had a better effect; and they succeeded, after several days' battering, with eight pieces of cannon, in beating down (20th May,) the steeple of St Anthony's convent,† on which the besieged had placed several guns, and who, being much more expert gunners than their enemies, had, from this commanding situation, greatly annoyed their encampment. This feat, which any corporal of artillery, in our day, would accomplish with a couple of guns in half an hour, was matter of great exultation to the besiegers, who paused in the midst of their career, to contemplate, with wonder and amazement, the terrible effects of their prowess and dexterity, although, judging from the result on this occasion, we would venture to say that not more than three shots per diem had taken place. In the meantime, an English fleet, commanded by Admiral Winter, had arrived in the Roads to second

* See Antiquities.

† Ib.

the efforts of the troops who invested the town. Several of the ships belonging to this fleet sailed in close to the pier, on the night of the 17th of May, and commenced a destructive fire, by which many of the inhabitants, besides soldiers, were killed. The besiegers now finding, however, that, notwithstanding all their efforts, they were unable, even from the advanced positions which they had taken, to make any serious impression upon the walls of the town, removed their whole encampment to the west side of the Water of Leith, conceiving the fortifications on that side of the town to be less capable of resistance than those on the east. Here they had again recourse to the expedient of throwing up mounts,* as they had done upon the Links, and also renewed their various other operations against the town. The siege had now continued for nearly a month without exhibiting any prospect of a termination, or being attended with any other effect than that of reducing the besieged to such extremity for want of provisions, that they were compelled to eat their own horses.† The garrison, how-

* See Antiquities.

† This is a circumstance, by the way, which every admirer of the sublime science of gastronomy ought to hear with a becoming reverence, since, but for it, we should never have heard of that noble and affecting instance of superior skill in that august science, as displayed by the Maitre de Cuisine to the Mareschall Strozzi, who, during the whole blockade, maintained his master's table with twelve covers every day, although he had nothing better to place on it than the quarter of a carrion-horse now and then, and the grass and weeds that grew on the ramparts. *Fortunes of Nigel*, 2d vol. p. 13.

ever, bore their privations manfully, and continued to eat their dead horses with a gusto which was highly creditable to them as thorough-bred soldiers, and which convinced their enemies that they were determined to hold out as long as a leg should be left them. The besiegers now heartily tired of a dilatory and protracted species of warfare, to which they were but little accustomed, and of which there was not the smallest appearance of a speedy or successful issue, determined to try the effect of a general and desperate assault upon the town. With this view, the English forces were drawn up in order of battle, and, amongst other dispositions, Sir James Croft was appointed, with what was thought a sufficient force, to assail the town on the north side, at the place now called the Sand Port, where, at low water, as it was at the time of the attack, there was an easy entrance into the town. Sir James, however, in place of performing the duty allotted him, kept aloof with his men, and remained inactive during the whole time of the assault. For this conduct, he was afterwards openly accused of treachery, a charge which derived some countenance from the circumstance that he was seen, a short time previously, in earnest conversation with the Queen Dowager, who held that colloquy with him from the walls of Edinburgh Castle, whither, it will be recollected, she had retired before the siege began. However, to return to the assault :—The troops being now drawn out in order of battle, and every other preparation for the terrible enterprise being completed, they marched

undauntedly with their scaling-ladders up to the walls, when, to quote Churchyard once more,

The drummes did sound, the trumpetes blew alowde,
The cannons shot, the bowmen stood not still,
The smoke was lyke a fogge or misty cloude
The poulder made. Our souldiers lackt no will
To clyme the walls, where they receive much ill,
For when they layd their ladders in the dyke,
They were too short the length of halfe a pike.*

The flankers there, in murdering holes that lay,
Went off and slew, God knows, stout men enow :
The harquebuz afore had made foule playe,
But it behoved our men for to go throwe,
And so men sought their deaths, they knew not how.
From such a sight swate God my friends defend,
For out of frame did dyvers find theyr end.

The besiegers, however, after many fruitless and desperate efforts, were driven back from the walls with dreadful slaughter, a result which was not a little owing to the heroic exertions of certain ladies, whom the Frenchmen, with their usual gallantry and devotion to the fair sex, entertained in great numbers in their quarters. These heroines mounted the ram-

* Some strange fatality seems to have attended all scaling-ladders intended for the walls of Leith. At all events, there appears to have been a singular inaccuracy in the estimation of their height, both on this and the former occasion, when they were attempted by the army of the congregation.

parts along with their paramours, and remained there during the whole time of the assault, actively employed in loading the soldiers' musquets, and pelting the besiegers with stones, pieces of timber, and whatever other substances they could lay their hands upon, and which they discharged with the utmost violence on the devoted heads of their enemies. Amongst other missiles, Knox tells us, they threw down upon the foe whole chimnies of burning fire; and adds, that their exertions were particularly vigorous when the Englishmen began to turn their backs. As the same author informs us, in his plain way, that this troop of Amazons was composed mostly of "Scotch w——s," we are inclined to ascribe the honours of this day to some detachment from the Canongate, it being more than probable that the Frenchmen drew the greater part of their forces from that far-famed district. However this may be, the besiegers, as we have already said, were repulsed on all hands with great loss. During the whole time of the assault, which lasted long, the Queen Regent sat upon the walls of Edinburgh Castle, watching with intense interest and anxiety the vicissitudes of the fight. Nothing, therefore, could exceed her joy when she saw the English defeated, and the French ensigns again waving triumphantly on the walls of Leith. Unable to restrain the happiness she felt, her Majesty indulged in a loud burst of laughter; and, after this indecorous expression of her satisfaction, said, "Now will I go to the mass, and praise God for that which mine eyes

have seen," and immediately proceeded to the chapel of the Castle with this pious resolution. Here she found a renowned Dominican Friar, of the name of Black, ready to assist her devotions, and whom, such was the morality of the times, she specially appointed for this occasion, although she had herself, but a short time before, detected him in an unbecoming situation with his paramour, at the very foot of that altar before which they were both now about to kneel in solemn devotion to the Deity. As the worthy friar's reputation for gallantry was deemed, in the days of which we speak, considerably above mediocrity, and had made some noise in the world, we shall take the liberty of laying before our readers a scrap of poetry which celebrates his prowess. The lines have little merit in themselves, and the attempt at wit throughout, by playing upon the name, is altogether wretched ; yet we consider it curious, as being a specimen of the poetry of the times, and important, as it establishes, and has perpetuated, the fame of Friar Black.*

There was a certain blak frier, always called Black,
 And this was no nickname, for blak was his wark :
 Of all the blak friers he was the blakest clark ;
 In the blak friers borne to a blak wark.

* * * * *

* In justice, however, to the memory of Friar Black, we must mention, that, singular as the association may appear, he was no less celebrated as a theologian than a gallant. In the year 1561, he publicly disputed with John Willocke, preacher of the gospel, for two whole successive days.

To return to the proceedings at Leith. The French, elated beyond all bounds with their victory, had recourse to a mode of expressing their exultation, which, for its inhumanity and brutality, remains, we believe, without a parallel. So soon as the besiegers had retired, or rather were driven back, from the walls of the town, the French issued out, and proceeded to strip naked all the dead bodies which they found. This done, they carefully ranged the denuded corpses alongst the front of the ramparts, the underpart of which, being composed of earth, and consequently sloped, admitted of such a disposition, and there left them blackening in the sun for several days. This appalling spectacle, we learn with horror, gave much delight to the Queen Dowager, who, gazing upon it from the walls of Edinburgh Castle, exclaimed, "Yonder is the fairest tapestry that ever I saw : I would that the whole fields that are betwixt this place and yon were strewed with the same stuff !" None but a people, whose refinements in cruelty and its concomitant horrors have always been remarkable, and whose ebullitions of levity are ever unrestrained by place or circumstance, would have thought of such a loathsome and revolting exhibition as that which we have just recorded.

The unfortunate result of the attempt which the besiegers had made to carry Leith by storm, did not, however, materially interrupt the blockade, nor induce them to consider their enterprise hopeless. They therefore continued to annoy the town by an inces-

sant cannonade, from guns placed on those mounts of earth of which we have already spoken, and which they had found so serviceable, that they now proceeded to throw up others in the most commanding situations which they found. One of these, situated, as we conceive, from the description given of it, at the east end of Chapel Street, in North Leith, was particularly destructive, as it bore directly upon the throngest part of the town, the Shore, alongst which none could pass for this battery, without imminent hazard of being killed.

The resolution of the besiegers to accomplish the capture of the town, in despite of the unfavourable issues of all the attempts which they had hitherto made, and the daily loss of men which they sustained, could be surpassed only by the determined bravery of the besieged, who, in the midst of famine and privations of every kind, remained unshaken and unconquerable, and who still continued, with unremitting activity, to harass their enemies by frequent sallies from the town, and engaging the besiegers in their very trenches. The English, amongst other acts of hostility, on this occasion, burnt the Mills of Leith, having previously murdered all whom they found therein. Such were the sanguinary characteristics of ancient warfare, in which the helpless and unoffending, who fell in the way of contending armies, were generally involved in the massacre of the vanquished. War, though it still is, and always must be, one of the greatest evils which can afflict mankind, is yet, in our

day, divested of much of the horrors which were its inseparable concomitants in remote and barbarous ages, when an unrelenting ferocity, the result of ignorance and a lawless life, marked every act of hostility. Strangers to the feeling of humanity, for which they had scarcely a name, they committed the most revolting cruelties, without being at all aware that they were violating one of the best and holiest principles of our nature, and the most pleasing in the eyes of the Deity. The route of an army is not now to be traced, as in those days it might, by burning cottages and slaughtered peasants, and however sanguinary our battles may be in the open field, and in fair combat, they are seldom if ever disgraced with the imputation of the unoffending.

The siege of Leith had now continued for upwards of two months, without yet exhibiting the slightest prospect of a termination. The besieged, in daily expectation of receiving succours from France, which, however, never arrived, held out with an obstinacy, on which the perseverance of the besiegers had no effect. Both parties, however, began now heartily to weary of a contest so protracted and harassing, and in which much blood was spilt to little purpose. In this frame of mind, overtures of an amicable arrangement were readily listened to, and a treaty was shortly afterwards concluded between the Bishop of Valence, who came from France on purpose, on the part of his countrymen, and Lord Burleigh, on the

part of Elizabeth. By this treaty it was agreed, that the French should forthwith depart the kingdom, that they should be allowed to embark unmolested, and that they should be transported to France in English ships. On the part of the English it was stipulated, that on the same day on which the French evacuated the town, they should also commence their march for England. Accordingly, on the 16th day of July, 1560, in terms of this arrangement, the French embarked for France, and the English army began its route homewards. The departure of the former, however, was, on this occasion, marked by a circumstance, whose recurrence yet characterises the armies of that people, who, with a prudence which is really commendable, generally contrive, when placed in similar circumstances to that just mentioned, to secure the booty they may have acquired, as well as their own personal safety, and seldom fail to retire with well-filled trunks and haversacks. In strict conformity, therefore, with this ancient and laudable practice, the French soldiers, before they embarked, plundered the town, and safely deposited in the ships, in which they were themselves to sail, whatever spoil they could lay their hands upon, or thought worthy the honour of being carried into France. Thus ended the memorable siege of Leith,—certainly not one of the least remarkable occurrences in the annals, not only of the town, but of the kingdom, an event which was attended with much effusion of blood, and which

is eminently distinguished by the bravery of both the besiegers and besieged. The Queen Dowager did not live to see the termination of an affair in which she took so deep an interest, and on the result of which her authority in the kingdom was staked, she having died in Edinburgh Castle, on the 10th of June, to the great loss, Maitland says, of the inhabitants of Leith. Whether it was so or not, we leave our readers to judge ; but, for our own parts, we must say, that we do think her death was a most fortunate occurrence for the town of Leith, inasmuch as it relieved it from the arduous, dangerous, and ruinous task of sheltering her from her enemies, and defending her singly against the united efforts of two kingdoms. The miserable plight in which Leith was now left, may possibly be conceived, but certainly cannot be described in any manner which would approach the melancholy truth. The trade of the port had been long at a total stand ; many of the inhabitants had perished by various casualties during the siege, and all had suffered, in an extreme degree, the miseries of famine ; and, to conclude the deplorable account, they were, as we have already related, plundered of all their most valuable effects ; and this was one consequence of the friendship of Mary of Lorraine for her dearly-beloved town. So dangerous a place, however, was Leith considered, on account of its fortifications, and so much trouble had it given to the nation, that on the very day after the conclusion of the treaty already mentioned, the common council of the kingdom

transmitted an order * to the council of Edinburgh, enjoining them to take instant measures for the overthrowing and utterly demolishing the walls of Leith, a proceeding which immediately divested the town of an importance, in a military point of view, which had been fraught with much misery to the inhabitants, and ruinous to the commercial interests of the place.

The next event of importance which occurs in the annals of Leith, was an act of that unfortunate Queen, whose hard fate, and alleged crimes, together with her surpassing beauty, have given rise to factions, whose warmth and zeal the lapse of nearly three centuries has but little abated.

Before proceeding to relate the circumstances regarding Leith, in which Mary was concerned, we trust it will not be considered an improper digression to take some notice of her landing, an event which, in common with every thing else connected with the memory of that unfortunate princess, is now associated in the breast of every Scotsman with a deep and romantic feeling. Poor Mary, it is well known, did not leave France, the scene of her youthful, and perhaps her only joys, without the most painful feelings, aggravated by melancholy, and, unfortunately, too well-founded forebodings of the miseries which awaited her in her native land. Mary was accompanied from Paris, to the coast of France, by her aunt, Anne.

* For a copy of this order, see the account of the walls of Leith. Antiquities.

of Este, the Duke of Guise, and his five brothers, besides a numerous train of noble dames and cavaliers. Unable to bid a final adieu to the land she loved so well, and the friends she held so dear, and with whom she was still surrounded, Mary lingered at Calais for six days. The fatal hour of separation, however, at length arrived, and the weeping princess was compelled to tear herself from all she loved on earth. "Habitually superstitious, in embarking for the royal galley, Mary was appalled by the mournful spectacle of a vessel striking against the pier, and sinking to rise no more. Overwhelmed with the sight, the unhappy Queen exclaimed, 'O God! what fatal omen is this for a voyage!' then, rushing towards the stern, she knelt down, and, covering her face, sobbed aloud, 'Farewell! France, farewell! I shall never, never see thee more!' Repeatedly she raised her eyes to steal another and another glance of that shore she had for ever left, and often sobbed aloud, 'Adieu, France, adieu.'"^{*} Having indulged for some time in these affecting expressions of sorrow, she quitted her seat, but could not be prevailed upon to leave the deck, whilst the light of day permitted her to discern the shores of France. On the morning following that of her embarkation, the vessel having made little way during the night, she again caught a glimpse of her beloved land, a sight which renewed her anguish and her wailings of despondency and regret.

^{*} Brantome.

On the morning of the 20th of August, 1561, between the hours of seven and eight o'clock, Mary, Queen of Scotland, landed in Leith, amidst the clamorous joy of thousands of assembled spectators, who had flocked from all parts of the kingdom to hail the arrival of their princess. In vain was it that Knox had, for some time previous to her arrival, endeavoured to prejudice the people against their Queen. It was in vain that he had thundered from the pulpit the language of prophecy, foretelling evil and sorrow to Scotland from the dynasty of Mary. The moment the lovely princess, in all the bloom of youth, and clothed with a beauty which is but rarely vouchsafed to mortals, set foot upon the pier of Leith, the dark forebodings of the stern reformer were altogether forgotten, or overwhelmed in the resistless tide of joyous acclamation with which she was hailed. The sound of cannon from the gallies which accompanied Mary from France, mingled with the shouts of the multitude. The Queen was received, on her landing, by the Earl of Argyle, the Lord Erskine, the Prior of St Andrews, and the burgesses of Edinburgh. The palace of Holyrood not having been in complete order when her Majesty arrived, she remained in Leith till towards the afternoon, when, in the beautiful lines of Hogg,

“ Light on her airy steed she sprung,
 Around with golden tassels hung ;
 No chieftain there rode half so free,
 Or half so light and gracefully.

How sweet to see her ringlets pale
Wide waving in the southland gale,
Which through the broomwood blossoms flew,
To fan her cheeks of rosy hue.

* * * * *

Slowly she ambled on her way,
Amid her lords and ladies gay ;
Priest, abbot, layman, all were there,
And Presbyter, with look severe.
There rode the lords of France and Spain,
Of England, Flanders, and Lorraine ;
While serried thousands round them stood,
From Shore of Leith to Holyrood."

Queen's Wake, pp. 9, 10.

Queen Mary, in the year 1565, amongst other shifts to recruit her exhausted finances, mortgaged the superiority of Leith to the Edinburghers, who, like ressetters of stolen goods, were ready to buy any thing that promised to yield them a profit, without inquiring into or caring what circumstances were connected with the article brought them for sale. In this case, it may be presumed, they were particularly delighted to find, that, after long and weary watching, they had at length succeeded in securing an ascendancy over the town of Leith. The mortgage being redeemable for 10,000 merks, the Queen bestowed the reversion on Bothwell, a grant which was of the utmost importance to that nobleman, as it gave him the command of the principal port in the kingdom, and invested him with a powerful influence over the town of Edin-

burgh. Of the flagrant injustice of Mary's conduct, in thus selling to the Edinburghers what she had no right to sell, the superiority of Leith being merely a trust deposited in her hands, we need say nothing. It is too obvious to be rendered more striking by elaborate stricture, and too glaringly infamous to require any formal exposition. In justice, however, to the memory of that unfortunate Queen, we must not omit to mention, that she early repented of the injury she had done to the Leithers, and evinced the most anxious desire to redeem the mortgage, as appears from several pressing letters, which she, from time to time, addressed to the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh, beseeching them to delay taking possession of their newly-acquired property. One of these letters, bearing date the 7th October, 1566, runs thus : " In our necessitie we analut to you the superiority of owre towne of Leith, and zit at owre désire and request ze haiff supersedit the putting of zour selfs in possession of it. It is nocht unknown to zou quhat we have ado, and zet with the first we purposse, God willing, to redeem that thing we esteem precious and meikle worth. We are assured zit as of before, ze will not speir to gratify us; sa meikle as to suspend the possession and intromission with owre said town quhuill the last day of December next to come, quhaire unto we pray you and requestis earnestlie and effectuously ze will do us veray thankful and acceptable pleasure ; this is sufficient, gif ye mind to shaw any bènevolence at our desire, and gif yc do not, we man

thoill it, and provide the next best ; but we trust surlieze will not stand with us in sic ane matter." The indulgence requested in this letter was granted. This the Edinburghers did the more readily that they knew there was but small chance of the poor Queen's ever being able to redeem the mortgage ; they therefore gratified her at small risk. At length, however, they began to think, that by some sort of chance it was possible their prey might slip through their fingers. To prevent this, on the 2d day of July, 1567, a court of superiority was ordered to take possession of Leith. On this great occasion the citizens of Edinburgh were commanded to march to the Links of Leith, in their military accoutrements; and accordingly Leith was entered as a conquered town by the greasy burgesses of Edinburgh, and they themselves, not as accessories to a swindle, which they certainly were, but as conquerors.

Thus, then, was the ruin and subjection of the most unfortunate of all people, the unhappy Leithers, not simply, but hermetically sealed, a situation which must have been rendered more distressing by the reflection that they had absolutely and literally bought their misfortune, and had paid a large price for their ruin, since it was their own money which placed the superiority of the town in the hands of the Queen's mother, Mary of Lorraine. By this transaction between the Queen and the Edinburghers, the Leithers were now placed fairly in the hands of the Philistines; they were clutched in the talons of the vulture, and

merciless laceration was the consequence. Although the reversion of the superiority still hung over the heads of the Edinburghers, and rendered their title incomplete, yet they viewed it as a remote contingency, and as not directly interfering with an unlimited sway over the unhappy town ; in short, they wished to forget that such a restraint upon their authority existed, and endeavoured to make others forget it too. The system of oppression which they had formerly exercised in Leith, and which had been interrupted by the turbulence of the times, and perhaps in some measure by the interference of the Queen Dowager, was now again revived, and with increased vigour, in consequence of the additional and important right which they had obtained over their hapless victim. The Edinburghers, now lords superiors of Leith, were no sooner in possession of their title, imperfect as it was, than they became suddenly impressed with the idea, that there was a majesty and dignity about them, which, by a singular oversight, they had never before discovered. In proportion as their self-conceit increased, so did their contempt for their unhappy vassals. Unaccustomed to control, like all mean and vulgar souls, they abused it when in their possession. In short, they were so overjoyed with the novelty of their situation, and with the power with which they found themselves invested, that we do believe nothing less than an expedition to Leith, for the purpose of amusing themselves for a day or two in kicking the inhabitants about the streets, would have sufficiently expressed

the species of happiness which they felt, or the contempt which they entertained for their vassals ; and, indeed, we are somewhat surprised that they did not fall upon some such unequivocal mode of impressing upon the Leithers a due sense of their own inferiority, and of the dignity of their new masters. There is not, however, any necessity for indulging in imaginary scenes on this subject. We have ample store of well-authenticated facts, to prove that the tyranny exercised by the Edinburghers towards the inhabitants of Leith was as mean as it was oppressive and unjust.

The vulgar exultation of the Edinburghers, on this occasion, was not by any means confined to the civic authorities, but pervaded all classes, particularly the incorporated trades of the city, who, in the pride of their hearts, arrogated to themselves a share of the dignity and power which the acquisition of the superiority of Leith conferred upon the town, and accordingly they also began to look haughty, and to play the part of tyrants. Amongst other acts of oppression, the incorporation of Cordwainers in Edinburgh compelled the craftsmen of that incorporation in Leith to attend their occasional meetings, standing on the outside of the door, where they were obliged to remain patiently until summoned into the august presence of the illustrious deacon and his colleagues. Nor did their degradation by any means end here. After being called in, they were compelled to stand uncovered behind the chairs of their lords and masters, and in that situation to wait, with all becoming humility,

the result of the meeting. If any of the slaves dared to remonstrate, or to say any thing which was deemed offensive, they were instantly collared by a sheriff's officer, one of this gang being always in attendance for this special purpose, and, without further ceremony, dragged out of the apartment, and hurried into prison, where they were often detained for a considerable time. Never surely was there an exhibition like this at once so ludicrous and iniquitous. The most playful imagination cannot, we think, conceive any thing more laughably absurd than the assumed dignity and hauteur of these Edinburgh cobblers of the sixteenth century, lording it over their fellow-craftsmen of Leith. We almost imagine we see their sublime deacon tucking up his well-waxed and radiant leather apron with an air of awful majesty, and, at the same instant, commanding the door-keeper to usher into the presence the ignoble and degraded cordwainers of Leith, whom neither he nor his brethren thought worthy to hold the paste-horns of their own enlightened body. Nor is it less amusing to conceive the stupid vulgar stare of superlative contempt and self-conceit, with which these ignorant wretches would contemplate the poor dejected tradesmen of Leith, as they sneaked into the room, and assumed their humble station behind the chairs of their low and shameless oppressors. Besides the humiliations to which the trades of Leith were subjected by their brethren of Edinburgh, they were also much impoverished by various modes of extortion, exercised up-

on them by the crafts of the city, who, by no means contented with the empty though gratifying show of superiority in which they chose occasionally to indulge, determined that something more tangible and substantial than mere idle forms should be forthcoming. Accordingly we find that they compelled them to pay £2.13s. 4d. Scots, for each apprentice's indenture, with half a crown to their clerk, for which he did nothing, as their papers were always written by their own clerk in Leith. The gentleman who acted in this capacity to the cordwainers of Edinburgh, was in an especial manner a favoured child of fortune, inasmuch as he enjoyed, amongst the other good things of his office, the annual gift of a pound and a pair of slippers, which the corporation of Leith were compelled to give him. If the wretched Leithers at any time failed in paying any of these villanous exactions, they were immediately dragged to prison, where they were kept in close confinement until the last farthing was settled. When, as was frequently the case, they wished any of the corporations of Edinburgh to appoint a meeting of their body to receive a freeman, they were compelled, in the first place, to go up to the city, and to treat the members of that incorporation, with which the business was to be transacted, in a tavern, to the amount of £10 or £12 Scots. This the Edinburghers facetiously called a *speaking penny*, a name which they no doubt thought extremely witty, and which, it is probable, they had invented on some speaking-penny occasion, when exhilarated with liquor,

and particularly happy with the comfortable reflection that they had nothing to pay. However this may be, it is certain, that no corporation-business could possibly be done with them, until they were gorged with beef and pudding, and thereafter slaked with befitting quantities of wine. We are not sure whether the Leithers were admitted to the honour of sitting down at table, on these occasions, with their masters, the Edinburghers, or whether they were permitted, on any terms, to share in the entertainments for which they were to pay; but to judge from the footing on which they stood with regard to each other, and particularly bearing in mind the circumstance of the Leithers being compelled, at the business-meetings of the corporations, to stand behind the chairs of their lords, we imagine, if they were at all admitted to the speaking-penny gormandizings, it could not be on the equal footing of companionship. They therefore must have sat, if not at an under or bye table, as became their low birth, at least below the salt. They would also, of course, be expected to conduct themselves during the evening with a becoming humility, whilst their guests were roaring it away with all imaginable hilarity, and ordering in bowl after bowl with unsparing liberality. In short, we believe that the poor Leithers would be little noticed during the mirth of the evening, until the trifling circumstance of settling with the landlord came to be considered; then, probably, the deacon, taking up his hat to walk off, an example which of course would be

followed by his brethren, would condescend to tell his highly-honoured entertainers to pay the reckoning. We now, however, come to speak of a part of the conduct of the incorporations of Edinburgh towards those of Leith, in which, unlike the instances of oppression we have already given, there is nothing of the ludicrous to affect the strong feeling of indignation which it is calculated to excite. Although the incorporations of Edinburgh compelled the corresponding bodies in Leith to pay into their funds all the charges and exactions which it is customary for members to pay, and which, of course, entitles these members to a small pittance when age or misfortune has rendered them unable to support themselves, this claim upon their benevolence, however, they thought proper, in every instance, to reject, refusing even the smallest sum to those applicants who were simple enough to seek their aid.

A poor blind man, who had lost his sight whilst deacon of the cordwainers of Leith, wandered up to Edinburgh, to try the effects of an appeal to the humanity of his brethren there. Having arrived at their place of meeting, he took up his station in the street fronting the house, not daring to approach, much less to enter, the apartment in which they were assembled. He then sent in a humble petition to the deacon and incorporation, soliciting a small supply to preserve his miserable existence. No answer being returned to his supplication, the wretched man con-

tinued waiting on the open street, until his emaciated form, overpowered with the effects of cold and hunger, sunk down almost lifeless. Then, and not till then, the inhuman wretches informed him, that he could have no assistance whatever from them, and concluded with ordering him instantly to be gone. It would appear, however, that the corporations of Edinburgh, conscious of the iniquity and injustice of their proceedings against those of Leith, were frequently frightened into the measure of liberating those whom they had thought fit to imprison, by a threat, on the part of the Leithers, to represent the matter to the Lords of Council and Session. In these cases, the Edinburghers would, if we may be allowed the expression, drop their victim with somewhat of the grace with which a dog parts with a stolen morsel when a cudgel is held over him *in terrorem*. In order yet further to illustrate the dastardly and tyrannical conduct of these iniquitous cobblers, we shall give one other instance of their utter regardlessness and contempt of all justice, and of the rights of their unhappy neighbours, the Leithers, in which they were cordially joined and aided by the worthy Magistrates of Edinburgh. The corporation of cordwainers of Leith, having, as usual, elected their deacon and the other officers of their body, were summoned to compear before the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and charged with insolently assuming the privileges and forms of a regularly-constituted body, which they

alleged the incorporation of cordwainers of Leith were not. The consequence was, that William Achmuty, the pretended deacon, and Edward Kirkpatrick, the pretended officer, as they thought proper to call them, were thrown into prison, as a warning to the Leithers to abandon in future all pretensions to the rights and privileges of independent corporate bodies. Finding, however, that this flagrant act of injustice had not the desired effect, they continued, besides various other acts of oppression, almost daily to raise processes against the inhabitants of Leith, in their own courts at Edinburgh, where, as might be expected, without the smallest consideration or investigation of the different cases, sentences and decreets were awarded in unsparing abundance against the unhappy Leithers. The latter, however, still continuing obstinately to adhere to the forms and privileges of corporate bodies, and remaining unsubdued by their systematic tyranny, they determined, by one sweeping measure, to crush this spirit of rebellion for ever. Accordingly, in the year 1589, the Magistrates of Edinburgh summoned nearly the half of the inhabitants of Leith to appear before them, to hear themselves decerned to forbear, in all time coming, the choosing of deacons, and the exercising of their trades. To this reasonable and equitable decree, the Leithers had the courage to answer, at the risk of being-dragged to prison, "That they had liberties and privileges granted to them for using their crafts, by the

Barons of Restalrig, superiors of Leith for the time, for the space of one hundred years; and that they and their predecessors had, past memory of man, exercised these privileges conceded them by the Barons of Restalrig, who had full right in their persons, granted by the Prince, to gift and dispose these liberties within the town of Leith, and that being in use and wont for such a length of time, they could not, with any shadow of justice, be deprived of them.

To this short and simple statement of facts, the Magistrates of Edinburgh did not deign to pay any attention, but coolly proceeded to award judgment against them, considering them, no doubt, a parcel of insolent and contumacious rascals. This system of iniquitous tyranny, however, came at length to a termination. The cordwainers of Leith, with a spirit which reflects much credit on that body, determined to submit no longer to the indignities, impositions, and oppression, which the Edinburghers had so long exercised over them, on the ground, besides other hostile feelings, that neither they nor any other of the corporate bodies in Leith had a legal title to assume that name, or to exercise the functions pertaining to incorporated trades. Accordingly, in the year 1731, the corporation of cordwainers of Leith commenced a process in the Court of Session against the cordwainers of Edinburgh, which, after being long litigated, terminated wholly in favour of the former. The lords, finding, what the Edinburghers had all along denied, that

the "Seal of Cause,"* granted to the cordwainers of Leith, by Logan of Restalrig, was good and valid;

* A deed or charter erecting a corporation. The oldest seal of cause of the Leith Incorporated Trades appears to be that of the tailors, which is dated 1515; that of the cordwainers bears date 1550, and the weavers 1554. Maitland is therefore altogether wrong, when he says that corporations were first erected in Leith by Mary of Lorraine. To some she may possibly have given charters, but it is beyond a doubt, that there were incorporated bodies in Leith long before her time, as that of the tailors above-mentioned demonstrates. As few of our readers, we dare to say, have had an opportunity of seeing any of these ancient seals of cause, or charters of incorporation, we take the liberty of subjoining a copy of that of the cordwainers of Leith, which we consider altogether rather a curious document. It will be observed, that the following seal of cause was intended to replace that burned by Hertford in 1544, six years before.

"Be it kend till all men, be thir present letters, Me Robert Logan of Restalrig, greeting; Forasmeikle as it is clearly knawn to me, that umquhile Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, knight, my father, gave and granted to his lovitt servitor, the deacon, brethren, and craftsmen of the cordiners' craft, being of the fraternitie of St Crispin and Crispiniani, dwelling within the town of Leith, upon the south side of the water of the samen, and sherriffdome of Edinburgh, his letters of gift and privilege to make congregation and statutes lykes other good towns, does, for the weel and uphold of the alter of Crispin and Crispiniani, situate within the said town of Leith, and chaplaine of the samen, and for ingathering of the oukly pennie of all and saundrie the saids craftsmen, and others exerceing the said cordiner craft within the said town, and to poynd and distrinzie be their officers of the samen. And gave full power to the said deacon or deacons, which shall be for the tyme, to receave of every stranger, or others taking up booth in the said town, for exerceeing of the said craft, at their first entry, sicklike taxations and duties as other craftsmen of the said craft payes in Edinburgh, St Johnstoun, Striviling, or any other good towns, for uphold-ing of the said alter and chaplain of the samen, and likeways of prentises att the receaving of them. And that everie craftsman of the said

declared them a free and independent corporation, and no way subject to the incorporation of cord-

craft and deacon foresaid, give *the said chaplaine meat about, gif they be of power*, be sight of the said deacon and craft, and who that failzie thereintil to be poynded by their said officer, having sicklike power as his officer for the ingathering of the samen. And gif any person or persons contemned or disobeyed the poynts and articles foresaid, the said umquhile Sir Robert obliged him, his aires, and assignyes, to supplie, mantaine, and defende the said deacon and deacons, craftsmen and bretherin of the said fraternitie in all tymes to come, as att more length is contained in his letters of gift, made and given to them under his hand-write and seal of arms, which letters of gift and priviledges contained therein were burnt at the *seck of Leith, made and sected* be the Earle of Hartewoode, (Hertford) then Lieutenant to the King of England, in the month of May, 1544. The which gift and priviledge contained thereintil, is known clearly, that they were first for the loving God Almighty, the honour of the realme, the worships and profite of the said town, the profite of all our soveraigne ladies leidges, and others repairing thereto, and for uphold of divine service at the said altar, and for eshewing of unsufficient craftsmen of the foresaid craft. And, considering the burning of their said gift, they have not power nor authority to execute and put forward the foresaid priviledges above express, wherthrow there can noe good order be put in the premisses, without ane new gift and priviledge be granted to them thereupon. Therefore I have given and granted, and be thire presents gives and grants to the said deacon or deacons, which shall be for the tyme, to receave of everie stranger, or others taking up booth within the said town, for exerceing of the said craft, at their first entrie, sicklike taxations and duties as other craftsmen of the said craft payes in Edinburgh, St Johnstoune, Striviling, or any other good townes, for uphold of the said altar and chaplaine of the samen ; and likeways of prentises at the receaving of them, and that every craftsman of the said craft, and deacon foresaid, give the said chaplaine meat about, gif they be of power, be sight of the said deacon and craft ; and be that failzie thereuntill, to be poynded

wainers of Edinburgh. To the cordwainers of Leith, therefore, the other incorporated trades of the town owe a large debt of gratitude, since to their spirited conduct on this occasion, and to that alone, are they indebted for their emancipation from a thralldom which had, for nearly two hundred years, degraded, oppressed, and impoverished their several incorporations. This event, however, so important to the trades of Leith, was not accomplished without much difficulty and great expense. In the pursuit of their object, the spirited individuals, who at that period took the lead in the cordwainers' affairs, had to resist a weight of influence and prejudice, which would have instantly overwhelmed all opposition, but that proceeding from resolute men determined to be free. The other incorporations of Leith, encouraged by the success of the cordwainers, who had fought the battle singly, and whose case now became a precedent, resolved to follow their example. Accordingly, they

be their officer, having sicklike power as my said officer for the ingathering of the samen. And gif any persone or personnes contemnes and disobeyes the points and articles foresaid, then and in that case, I bind and oblige me, my aires, and successors, to supplie, mantaine, and defende the said deacon and deacons, craftsmen and bretherin of the said fraternitie, in all times to come, providing alwayes that they incontinent; fie, and uphold ane chaplaine to make dayly service at the said altar; upon their expenses. In witness of which thing, to thir present letters, subscribed with my hand, my seal is heirto hanging. At — the — day of — one thousand five hundred and fiftie years." The blanks in the above are illegible in the original.

all in one body refused to submit any longer to the slavery and exactions imposed upon them by the Edinburghers, and shortly after commenced a process against them in the Court of Session. The result of this proceeding was, that, in the year 1734, the whole corporations of Leith were declared free and independent of the incorporations of Edinburgh. Referring to the cordwainers' seal of cause, in the preceding note, we may mention, that before the Reformation, every incorporation had an altar erected, at its own cost, and appropriated exclusively to the devotional exercises of its own members ;—each incorporation also maintained a chaplain. The altar of the cordwainers was dedicated, as expressed in the foregoing charter, to Crispin and Crispiniani, and stood in South Leith Church, amongst with those of the other incorporations. The chaplain, we conceive, who lived by getting his “ meat about, gif they wère of pouer,” from the different members of the corporation by which he was employed, must have had but a miserable life of it himself, besides being an intolerable nuisance to his constituents, as, from this clause in the charter, threatening with condign punishment those who refused him his “ meat,” we infer, that he must have frequently been an unwelcome guest, and, of course, but scurvily treated ; and it is not by any means improbable, that, after prowling through the whole town in quest of a dinner, he has been frequently compelled to return home with the same appetite, nothing impaired, which had urged him to the

unsuccessful pursuit, or, at the best, he would probably be put off with some unsavoury mess by a sulky landlady, whilst the more palatable and substantial viands, on which the family had just been feasting, were hurried away from the table on the first glimpse of his approach. This treatment, however frequently repeated, would, of course, make the chaplain, if he was not already an experienced hand, more cautious in his proceedings, and teach him to conduct his forays with more secrecy and discretion, as he would soon discover, that sudden surprisals were always more successful than regular approaches. In course of time, too, we may believe, that his tactics, at first desultory and imperfect, would be reduced to a system as complete as human ingenuity, stimulated by the constant dread of starvation, could possibly make it. After having had a little practice, he would no longer be guilty of the folly and absurdity of approaching the house in which he meant to make a lodgement in front, when it was practicable to advance more secretly by stealing round corners and through bye-lanes. Nor would he, after some little experience, continue the inconsiderate practice of adhering to a peculiar mode of knocking at the door, which, in fact, would have been little better than a signal to those within to remove every thing good out of his way, besides subjecting him to the mortification of hearing, whilst he was kept waiting at the door, the bustling, vehement whispering and confusion of the family within, in the act of clearing the

table of those savoury viands which he had hoped to share. The system of operations, however, pursued by the chaplain, would, in all probability, be met by manœuvres, on the part of his constituents, not less ingeniously contrived, nor less ably executed, and which, it is reasonable to believe, must have frequently baffled his best-laid schemes. Thus both parties would, in all probability, continue to live in the relative situations to each other of besieger and besieged. The sphere of action of the former, however, must have been pretty limited, since, it is to be presumed, he would assail those houses only, excepting in cases of pressing necessity, where he knew the best eating was to be had, or where his presence was least obnoxious. We may also suppose, that the worthy chaplain would be always on the alert to discover when and where an invitation had been given by any of the members of his corporation, and that, from long experience, he would be gifted with the faculty of smelling a dinner afar off.

Nothing of any consequence occurred in which Leith was interested during the short and unhappy reign of the unfortunate Queen Mary, excepting the circumstance which we have already related, of her having mortgaged the superiority of the town. After her retreat to England, and during the minority of her son, James VI. when the country was torn to pieces with the violent factions bearing the name of King and Queen's parties, Leith once more became a scene of warlike bustle, confusion, and bloodshed. During the

regency of the Earl of Lennox, Earl Morton; on behalf of the king's party, which he commanded, seized and re-fortified Leith, which, from this circumstance, and the other advantages of its situation; particularly its contiguity to the capital; soon became the headquarters of the king's faction. All who were of that party, and who resided at no great distance, hastened thither to join the standard of their party, and to seek shelter from the hostilities of the opposite faction. Leith was thus quickly filled with a lawless mob of infuriated partisans, and in consequence soon presented a scene of turbulence and licentiousness, scarcely less distressing to its inhabitants than the siege in 1549. Besides the miseries to which the people of Leith must necessarily have been subjected on this occasion, it is to be presumed, that their situation would be rendered still more wretched, from the circumstance of their being considered as having been in a particular manner connected with and cherished by the Queen, whose interest it would no doubt be thought they would willingly espouse if they dared. That some such feeling as this was entertained by the violent faction in whose possession Leith now was, is, we think, extremely probable; and not less probable is it that the unfortunate inhabitants would be made to feel the effects of their resentment. Amongst other accessions to their strength, which the party in Leith were daily obtaining, was a large body of Edinburghers, who, abandoning their houses and occupations, and scorning the weakness which leads

men to venerate the place of their birth, prepared to invade, with fire and sword, their native city, having previously come to the magnanimous resolution of sparing neither old neighbours nor friends. This trait in the character of the Edinburghers exhibits them at once both in an amiable and interesting point of view, and convinces us that their treatment of the Leithers proceeded from no peculiar hostility to them, but from a feeling which was at least not partial in its operations, since we find that they were as ready and willing to cut the throats of each other, as those of more remote acquaintances, and that they regarded the ties of consanguinity and friendship as little as beings endowed with the attributes of humanity could reasonably be expected to do. The Queen's party, whose head-quarters was Edinburgh, finding themselves now strong enough to commence active hostilities against those in Leith, suddenly marched down to the latter place, and before the party there was sufficiently aware of their approach to make any resistance, they had penetrated, sword in hand, into the heart of the town, which was in consequence thrown into a state of the utmost confusion and alarm. A great many of the inhabitants, as well as others, terrified by the noise of the tumult, and at the sight of the streets filled with armed men, fled in the greatest consternation to the shore, amongst which they distractedly ran, calling out vehemently for boats, to carry them out of the reach of their enemies, for which, in their terror, they offered the most liberal rewards, some bawling

out that they would give twenty, some fifty pounds, and others, consulting their fears perhaps more than their ability, offered no less than a hundred pounds. As these magnificent promises, however, were somewhat rashly made, we have doubts whether they were ever fully implemented, and rather incline to think that the boatmen, after all, would be compelled to put up with short reckonings. The armed part of the faction in Leith, however, having in the meantime recovered from their consternation, hastened to put themselves in battle-array, and were in a very short time in a condition to oppose their enemies, whom, after a conflict which lasted the whole day, they succeeded in driving, not only out of the town, but in beating back to within a short distance of the walls of Edinburgh. In this engagement, which was afterwards distinguished by the very appropriate name of the "Lang Fight," we are amazed to find that only twenty-five persons of the Leith party were killed, and ten of that of Edinburgh. This we consider as an instance, amongst many which could be adduced, of a very remarkable feature in the character of ancient encounters,—the amazing length of time which they lasted, without any thing like an adequate result of killed and wounded. To this there are, it is true, several sanguinary exceptions; but in general it would seem that there was more noise and bustle than bloodshed in their engagements, since we frequently find hostile parties of considerable strength tugging and pelting away at each other for hours, nay,

as in the instance above given, for whole days; and the result, we are told, of this tough and furious combat probably is, “ twa killed outright, and ane stricken a deadly paik abune the knee.” Nor were the many single combats which occurred accidentally by the unexpected meeting of individuals, who were at enmity with each other, less remarkable for their long duration and innocuous character, and that in cases, too, where neither party was defended by armour. As a proof of this, we may give the following instance: In the reign of James VI. as Sir R. Kerr, younger of Cessford, attended by one servant, was returning home from Edinburgh, he unexpectedly met the Earl of Bothwell, who was also accompanied by an attendant, at a place called Humbie. Kerr and Bothwell being at feud, both parties, masters and men, immediately drew their swords, and commenced a furious engagement, the former encountering each other, and the latter following their example. The combat continued for a great length of time, without any of the parties sustaining the smallest injury. At length, being all fairly worn out with unavailing exertion, and finding that nothing was likely to be made of it, they very wisely agreed to drop the affair altogether. Accordingly, putting up their bloodless weapons, both parties proceeded deliberately on their journey. Cessford’s man was, however, on this occasion, slightly wounded on the cheek; and this was the whole result of an encounter, which any on-looker, seeing the flourishing of swords, and the furious looks of the

combatants, would, no doubt, have expected to end in the extermination of the whole party. Mr Chambers, also, in his original, lively, and most amusing work, the "Traditions of Edinburgh," gives an account of a "tulzie," in which the combatants fight the whole length of the West Bow, without drawing a single drop of blood. This remarkable characteristic of ancient encounters does certainly appear to us altogether inexplicable. It could not proceed from any superior knowledge which they possessed in the "noble science of self-defence," since we know, that the most expert swordsmen will not have engaged many minutes, nay, not many seconds, without inflicting or receiving injuries. We must therefore presume, that these doughty heroes of the olden time were, in most cases of single and accidental combat, contented with doing little more than crossing swords, and looking furiously at each other, and but occasionally, and at long intervals, venturing to discharge at their antagonists a wide, ponderous, and fore-hammer-like stroke, which there would be little difficulty in warding off. In a quarter of an hour, or, if the combatants happened to be particularly active and courageous, probably in ten minutes, we may suppose, this tremendous blow would be repayed with another not less tremendous, but equally guiltless of effect; and, in the meanwhile, to fill up suitably the intervals of action, the parties would entertain each other with the most dreadful denunciations of vengeance, butchery, and bloodshed. At length, however, the

patience of both parties becoming exhausted, and both being heartily tired of looking at each other, a cessation of hostilities would take place, if they can be said to have begun, when the combatants, putting up their swords, with a mutual promise to settle the matter at next meeting, would finally part, swearing against each other an eternal and unrelenting enmity. In those cases where the ancient combatants were sheathed in panoply, there is nothing mysterious in the circumstance of their escaping from a hundred fields unharmed ; nay, the wonder then is, that they were ever wounded at all, since it appears to us, that one might as well encounter the cast iron boiler of a steam-engine, as an ancient warrior when completely harnessed ; and it certainly greatly lessens our ideas of the otherwise amazing courage and prowess of some of these heroes, who, we are told, encountered and defeated whole hosts with their single arm, when we consider that they fought in all the security of a complete covering of impenetrable armour, whilst the soldiery, into whose ranks they carried death and destruction, were either wholly without such a protection, or, at best, but slightly and partially defended. The former, therefore, could, with the greatest ease and safety imaginable, fight his way into the heart of a battalion of his enemies, where he might remain without much risk to himself, and deliberately hew down all around him, as if he were in the midst of a field of cabbages, and these his only antagonists, whilst those who should be foolish enough to attempt

opposing the fell destroyer, would find blunted and broken swords the result of their temerity, besides the imminent hazard of being made minus a head or arm, or the being run through the body.

About this period, or rather a little before, they had carried their ideas of panoply and of safe fighting to a height which almost precluded the possibility of bloodshed. In the time of Henry VIII., the armies of France and Italy, and especially the latter, used to be so completely accoutred, that a pitched battle resembled rather an innocent and amusing tournament, than a field of death and wounds. Nay, they actually proceeded to such encounters precisely in the same way that their ancestors were wont to proceed to harmless jousts. The scene of the combat was settled and agreed upon between the parties. There was a week or so of truce beforehand, during which the common men of both sides met amicably and cheerfully together, and levelled the ground, to prepare it for the manœuvring of the troops, who were so heavily armed, that they had little to fear from the effects of either sword or pike.

We do not, however, by any means, go the length of asserting, that the single combats of our fathers were always as bloodless as those we have mentioned, or those we have imagined. On the contrary, they were frequently as sanguinary, and the parties were often as completely carbonaded, as the most pugnacious disposition could wish; but the reverse occurred sufficiently often to warrant certain doubts and

suspensions of the real courage of these bravadoes, who whipped out their swords if their toes were but trodden upon, and brandished a dagger in the face of the man who should have the insolence to ask them how they did.

The war between the King and Queen factions now began to assume a character of activity and vigour. Morton, who, it will be recollected, commanded the former under the Regent Lennox, amongst other hostile measures, proceeded to intercept all provisions going to Edinburgh. These he brought into Leith for the use of his own troops, besides retaining the carts and horses of the farmers employed in driving them. In order to increase the strength of his party in Leith, he also pressed into his service a great many of the neighbouring peasantry, whom he forcibly compelled to take up arms, and join the ranks of his forces. Finding himself now sufficiently strong to abandon the town, and take to the open field, he marched out his army to Hawk Hill, where, by way of defiance to the opposite party,—being in view of the city of Edinburgh,—he drew them up in battle array. The Loyalists, as Morton expected, provoked by this bravado, immediately issued out of the city with two field-pieces, for the purpose of giving him battle. This party, which was commanded by the Earl of Huntly, having proceeded as far as the Quarry Holes, was there waited upon by Sir William Drury, ambassador from Elizabeth, who had been all night in Leith, with the King's men. This gen-

tleman's object was to propose an amicable arrangement between the parties, and thus to save the effusion of blood. Sir William, therefore, in the most friendly manner imaginable, and with all the zeal and cordiality of a thorough-bred peace-maker, proceeded to fulfil the purpose of his visit, by proposing terms of accommodation, which were readily agreed to by those he addressed. One point, however, and that a point of honour, remained to be settled, and that was, which party should first leave the field. Sir William, determined that no such trifling consideration should interrupt the accomplishment of the good work in which he was engaged, proposed to get over this difficulty, by suggesting that both parties should quit their ground at the same instant, upon a signal being given by him: "And that signal," quoth Sir William, "shall be the throwing up of my hat." This ingenious and novel expedient gave general satisfaction, as did also all the other items of Sir William's negociation. Having settled matters with the Queen's party, he hastened back to Morton, to inform him of the result of his merciful endeavours, and particularly to instruct him on the business of the hat. After a little confabulation between Drury and Morton, the former stepped out, as if making for the centre between the two armies, in order to give the signal which had been agreed upon. Before, however, he had proceeded half way, up went the hat, and away went the Loyalists, rejoicing on their way, little dreaming of Drury's treachery, or apprehending the trick which

was now about to be played them. No sooner had the unsuspecting Loyalists turned their backs, and begun their march homewards, than they were assailed with the utmost fury by Morton's forces, who had remained immovable, and in good order, whilst the opposite party, deceived by Drury, were now retiring, with all the irregularity and confusion which an imaginary security, and the natural exultation of having escaped the dangers of an engagement, were calculated to produce in an undisciplined army. The consequence of this treachery was, that the Queen's party were immediately put to flight, with terrible slaughter, and were pursued to the gates of the city by their merciless assailants. The prisoners taken in this engagement, amongst whom was Lord Hume, and several other gentlemen of distinction, with 72 private men, a pair of colours, some horses, and two field-pieces, were marched into Leith with great triumph. This affair, which happened on Saturday, the 26th of June, 1570, was afterwards called the Battle of Black Saturday, in allusion to the treachery and great slaughter by which it is distinguished. It was also sometimes humorously called Drury's Peace, a name which we think not deficient in happy irony. One would have imagined, that Sir William, after the scurvy trick he had played the Queen's party, would scarcely have ventured again to show face amongst them, much less to wait on them with new proposals for an amicable understanding. This, however, he had the consummate impudence to do. Soon after

the affair—it cannot be called a battle—of Black Saturday, he had the effrontery to go to Edinburgh, full of new pacificatory propositions. The Queen's party there, unwilling to quarrel with Elizabeth, refrained from expressing to her envoy all the resentment which they felt at his infamous conduct. They, however, declined listening to any more of his proposals, or having any thing farther to do with him. On this Drury swore away manfully, that he was entirely innocent of the Black Saturday business, and endeavoured to throw the whole blame of that catastrophe on Morton's shoulders, who, he told them, was the sole contriver of the villany. Those of the Queen's party, however, with whom he held this conference, convinced, beyond all possibility of doubt, of his treachery, remained wholly unmoved by all his assertions to the contrary, and obstinately reiterated their determination to have nothing further to do with him. Drury, finding that he had irretrievably lost all credit with the Queen's party, hastened out of the city, escorted by a guard which was allowed him, to protect him from the fury of the mob, who, enraged with his treachery, would otherwise have torn him to pieces.

In the meantime, the Regent, hearing of Morton's success, hastened to Leith, with the resolution of making it for some time his place of residence. Having accordingly fixed and arranged his establishment there, he shortly afterwards commanded, by proclamation, all the country people around, who acknowledged

the King's authority, to attend him quarterly by turns. He also proceeded to erect new fortifications about the town, besides repairing as far as possible the old walls. About this time, Monsieur Verac, an envoy from France, who had before been frequently in Scotland on similar errands, arrived in Leith Roads, with letters to the most of the principal men of the Queen's party, and, amongst the rest, with one to Lennox himself, desiring him to restore some things which he had taken from the Castle of Dunbarton. With Verac came also one Chisholme, who had gone over to France as agent for the Loyalists, and who was now returned with a considerable sum of money for the use of that party, which he had obtained from the French King. The Regent, informed of the arrival in the Forth of the ship which brought Verac and Chisholme, despatched as many boats filled with armed men as was thought sufficient to take her. These were ordered to bring the vessel, cargo, passengers, and all, into Leith Harbour. Chisholme, however, having got notice of the Regent's intention, hastily landed all the money he had on board, and secretly delivered it to the Abbot of St Columb's Inch. Intelligence of this manœuvre having again reached Lennox, he despatched Lord Lindsay with a party by land to apprehend both Chisholme and Verac, who were accordingly seized and brought prisoners to Leith, when all the papers of the latter were taken from him and inspected, and, amongst the rest, one was found which contained an

account of the money, delivered to him by the King of France. As it had not been ascertained how they had disposed of this money, they were both strictly examined on this point, separately and in private, but, notwithstanding the strong evidence against them contained in the document just mentioned, both stoutly denied having brought over any money at all. A few twitches of the boat, however, to which Chisholme was immediately subjected, quickly elicited the truth. He not only confessed that he had brought over money, and told where it was concealed, but, so powerful and captivating had been the arguments of the boat, readily and heartily engaged in the service of his tormentors. The Regent having now ferreted out the money, lost no time in despatching proper messengers to the abbot, who, finding that the whole matter had been divulged, immediately gave it up. The ship in which Chisholme and Verac had come over was now also brought into Leith, and was found to be a prize of no small value, having on board 200 musquets, as many crosslets, the same number of morions, 500 cannon-balls, and a quantity of saltpetre. The King's party, however, derived little benefit from this acquisition, for, a few days thereafter, the Regent having despatched the arms by water to Stirling, they were intercepted by Sir David Spence, who, notwithstanding that the vessel which carried them was stoutly manned, took her, and, after carrying off all the arms, immediately sunk her. In the meantime, Leith was a scene not only of public rebellion, but

of private and violent feuds between the leading men of the party in whose possession it was. Morton, whose great interest in the kingdom, besides other weighty considerations, had made him hitherto almost the only adviser of the Regent, found himself likely to be supplanted in this office by the Laird of Drumquhaizel, whom, from his growing intimacy with Lennox, he began to look upon as a rival, who might soon lessen, if not altogether destroy his influence in the council, where he had been hitherto esteemed an oracle. Morton and Drumquhaizel had formerly been intimate friends, but the haughty leader no sooner perceived that the rising reputation and favour of the latter were likely to impair his own influence, than he became his mortal and determined enemy, and, in the same instant, resolved to be rid of him at all hazards, and by any means. As Drumquhaizel, however, was a man of great courage and bodily strength, Morton did not think fit to encounter him himself, but had recourse to the dastardly expedient of assassinating him. For this purpose, he hired two of his own footmen, who were instructed to watch Drumquhaizel, and to seize the first favourable opportunity for despatching him. Morton, however, had not conducted his design so secretly, but that it reached the ears of the Regent, who, as he entertained a high opinion of Drumquhaizel, was unwilling that he should fall a sacrifice to the jealousy of his formidable rival. Equally unwilling, however, from political motives, to offend Morton, he took no further no-

tice of the intended murder, than by confining Drumquhaizel in the lodgings which he himself occupied, where he was considered safe from any attempts of his enemy. Morton, aware of the Regent's motive for this conduct, was so highly offended thereat, and conceived himself so much affronted, that he immediately ordered all his baggage to be packed up, and prepared instantly to leave the town, and to abandon the cause in which they were all embarked. The Regent having been informed of what was passing, and afraid to lose so powerful a friend as Morton, immediately despatched a servant to his lodgings, to acquaint him, as if in ignorance of his intention, that he would shortly be with him to dinner. To this Morton replied, "he was sorry he could not have the honour of his Lordship's company, his business being so very pressing as to oblige him to go out of the town without so much as taking his leave of him." Lennox, surprised and irritated by this answer, started passionately from his chair and exclaimed, "Then, by God's holy name, he shall eat his dinner with me;" and immediately proceeded to the Earl's house, whom he with some difficulty at length prevailed upon to return with him.

The Regent did all he possibly could to reconcile the haughty Earl to Drumquhaizel, but without effect. The former had gone too far, he well knew, ever to trust that gentleman again. Nothing therefore would satisfy him but his instant banishment from the Regent's court, which, in order to gratify

Morton, was immediately commanded. Nor was this the only sacrifice made to conciliate the offended chieftain. In order that he might indulge more unrestrained in an improper connexion which he had formed with the wife of one Captain Cullen, who had been taken prisoner on Black Saturday, he insisted upon that gentleman's being put to death. Monstrous and unjust as this request was, such was the barbarity of the times, and the dread which the King's party entertained of losing so powerful a friend as Morton, that it was without hesitation complied with: the unfortunate man was immediately hanged. For these infamous favours, Morton, by means of his great interest, brought over to the Regent's party the Earl of Argyle and Lord Boyd.

The forces in Edinburgh belonging to the Loyalists, and in constant pay, now amounted to 100 horse and 500 foot; those in Leith, under the Regent and Morton, to 100 horse and 700 foot. Amongst the officers of the troops in the latter place, was the noted Captain Crawford, whose daring exploit, the taking of Dumbarton Castle, has procured a celebrity to his name which will long preserve it from oblivion. Crawford, who, from his superior activity and gallantry, obtained the flattering title of the Regent's Captain, was not more remarkable for his singular courage, than for the ingenuity with which he contrived sudden surprisals, and other warlike stratagems, of which the following *ruse de guerre*, though it proved unsuccessful, is no bad specimen:—At the period

of which we were speaking, Crawford, alongst with two other captains, named Hume and Lambert, were secretly despatched from Leith, with their respective companies, to endeavour to surprise Edinburgh. The particular manner of conducting the enterprise being left to Crawford's ingenuity, he, undiscovered, and in the night-time, posted his soldiers on both sides of the Canongate, near to where the eastern gate of the city then stood, and now called the Netherbow. These, to escape observation, were concealed in the different closes on each side of the street; and it was concerted, that as soon as daylight appeared, twenty or thirty horses, loaded with sacks of meal, and led by soldiers disguised and clothed like farmers, should present themselves at the gate. Having obtained admission, they were to throw off their sacks in such a way as to prevent its being suddenly closed again, when, on the signal of a pistol being fired by one of the counterfeit farmers, the three companies were to rush in at the gate. Every thing being prepared for the execution of this plot, the soldiers were impatiently awaiting the appearance of their disguised comrades, when a messenger, of the name of Thomas Barrie, who lived at the foot of the Canongate, coming up to the city early in the morning about his usual business, observed a great many of the closes filled with armed men. On seeing this, Barrie instantly suspected that there was some design upon the town. He, however, had sufficient presence of mind to take no notice of what he saw, but

passed on deliberately, without quickening his pace, or betraying any emotion, until he was fairly within the gate of the city, when he immediately gave the alarm, on which all the guards were instantly doubled, the citizens flew to arms, and every other precaution was taken to defeat the attempts of the enemy. In the meantime, Crawford, aware, from the noise and bustle which he heard arising from the town, that his design had been discovered, returned to Leith with his men, both displeased and ashamed that he had been so scurvily balked, after a long night's watching, besides the trouble which he had been at in arranging the detail of his drama.

The war between the King and Queen factions, which had hitherto been conducted without any remarkable violation of the laws of humanity by either party, began now to assume that sanguinary character which obtained it the name of the Douglass Wars. Both parties, wrought up to a degree of frenzy by frequent collision, and a long course of irritating hostilities, perpetrated the most horrible barbarities, and commenced a war literally of extermination. The Earl of Mar, having been elected Regent in room of Lennox, who was killed in Stirling, on the 4th of September, 1571, hastened to Leith with his party, to direct the proceedings of the forces there, and to invigorate their exertions.

Detachments from Leith now constantly hovered around Edinburgh, to intercept all provisions going to the city. The farmers and carriers taken in this

employment were immediately hanged, or burnt on the cheek with a hot iron. These people, finding that they could not themselves bring their commodities to market but at the imminent risk of their lives, and unwilling to abandon a trade which, from the peculiar state of Edinburgh, must have been at this juncture more than usually profitable, after this, with more prudence than gallantry, sent their wives, no doubt, however, imagining that their sex would be a protection at least against personal violence; but this expedient had no other effect than that of altering in part the mode of punishment. These women were either drowned or whipped through the streets, and afterwards burnt on the cheek with a hot iron. The party in Edinburgh, by way of retaliation, perpetrated exactly similar barbarities on those carrying provisions to Leith. This murderous spirit increased from day to day, becoming more sanguinary by indulgence, until at length they hanged, on both sides, all their prisoners without mercy, or regard to their age or quality. A reinforcement of Loyalists, going to join Sir Adam Gordon in the north, where he was struggling to maintain the cause of the Queen, was suddenly surprised at Blackness, when about to embark, by a party from Leith, who, without any resistance on the part of the Loyalists, butchered fifteen on the spot, and in cold blood: the remainder they brought to Leith, and hanged them all in view of the castle. At the same time there were hanged at Edinburgh, on one day, of the Leith party, no less

than fifty-six prisoners, taken in the different preceding skirmishes. The last who suffered in this way, were fifteen of the Edinburgh party, all burgesses of that town, who had been taken prisoners in one of those partial encounters, which were of such frequent occurrence during this sanguinary war. These were brought into Leith, and all hanged within a few hours afterwards. An end, however, was at length put to this unparalleled butchery by the interference of the French and English ambassadors, who succeeded in procuring a suspension of hostilities between the contending factions. The year after the termination of the war between the King and Queen factions (1572), Leith was distinguished by being made the place of meeting of the superintendents, barons, commissioners for planting churches, commissioners of provinces and towns, and ministers, for taking into consideration various important matters connected with the existing state and government of the church. Amongst other resolutions, it was ordained, at this convention, that it should have all the weight and effect of a general assembly, and might therefore decide all points usually determined in the supreme judicatory of the church. Having arranged all necessary preliminary matter, this assembly proceeded to frame regulations, which occupy a prominent place in the ecclesiastical history of the kingdom.

Nothing connected with the history of Leith worthy of being recorded again occurs, until the year 1578, when an act of parliament was passed, to pre-

vent, as it is therein expressed, "the taking away great quantities of victual flesh from Leith, under the pretence of victualling ships; and that the baillies do take care that no ship take away more than they shall judge sufficient to carry the vessel to her next port." From this we would infer, that Leith was, at that period, a cheap market for butcher-meat, since the captains or owners of vessels were in the habit, as we judge from the act, of purchasing more of that commodity than was necessary to carry them through their voyage. In this year, also, another circumstance took place, which, though of no great importance, we yet deem sufficiently interesting to deserve notice. Morton having made himself extremely obnoxious, during his regency, to the Earls of Argyle and Athole, by his attempting to bring a charge of treason against them, these noblemen, to revenge the injury, but under the specious pretext of rescuing the young king (James VI.) from the captivity in which they alleged he was held by Morton, took the field with 7000 men. These again were opposed by an army 5000 strong, commanded by the Earl of Angus, Morton's nephew. Upon reflection, however, both parties felt convinced that little would be gained on either side by proceeding to hostilities. In this temper, a reconciliation of the factions was not of very difficult accomplishment. At the intercession of Bowes, an ambassador from Elizabeth, several meetings of the leading men on both sides, with five other noblemen and gentlemen from each party, appointed

arbiters, took place : the first at Inveresk church ; the next at Libberton ; the third at Edinburgh ; and the fourth and last at Newbottle, where an amicable arrangement between the adverse parties was finally made and settled. In order to conclude this happy reconciliation in a manner at once suitable and social, and to convince the world of its sincerity, the gentlemen concerned in effecting it determined to have a friendly dinner together on the head of it. Accordingly, the Earls of Argyle and Athole, and Morton, with the Earl of Montrose, Mark, commendator of Newbottle, Sir James Balfour of Pittenweem, Thomas Kennedy of Bargenny, and Peter Hay, bailie of Errol, who had acted as arbiters on the part of Argyle and Athole, with the Earl of Buchan, Robert, commendator of Dumfermline, Lord Boyd, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and James Halliburton, Provost of Dundee, who had been appointed arbiters on the part of Morton, came to Leith, on the 23d day of October, when they all dined socially and comfortably together, at one table, in the house of one William Cant. After having spent, as we presume, a happy afternoon together, the whole party repaired to the Links, where they took a friendly leave of each other, and thereafter betook them to their several ways.

Whether Leith was, at this early period, any way famed for its taverns,* or houses of entertainment,

* Taverns, or Hostalleries, as they were called, came early under the cognizance of the legislature. In order to encourage such establish-

we cannot take it upon us to say; but, from the circumstance just related, we incline to think that it

ments, an act was passed in the reign of James I. (anno 1425), forbidding, under the penalty of forty shillings, all travellers from taking up their abode with friends or acquaintances, or elsewhere than in the hostallerie of the place, if there was one where they happened to be; and the same penalty was attached to those who received them. To this law there was one exception, if the person travelling was accompanied by many attendants; in that case he might lodge wherever he thought fit, provided his servants and horses were quartered in the hostallerie. This salvo seems to have been intended for the aristocracy, who, it may be conceived, would not brook the idea of being associated with their inferiors in a common inn. As they therefore always travelled with a large body of retainers, they enjoyed a liberty which was denied to travellers of a lower degree. From a passage in this act, it would appear, that inns, or houses of entertainment, were first established about this period, and were, of course, unknown before. For it is said, that it shall take effect "fra time that the commoun hostillaries be maid." Eleven years after this, it was enacted, "That na man in burgh be found in taverns of wine, ail, or beir, efter the straike of nine houres on the bell, under the penalty of fifty shillings." In the laudable anxiety, however, of the legislature, to encourage these useful establishments, the propriety of securing the traveller against imposition was altogether overlooked. The consequence of this neglect was, that in the reign of James V. the charges of lodging in inns became so exorbitant, and the accommodation which they afforded so intolerably wretched, that it was enacted, anno 1535, "for eschewing of exorbitant prices tane of the king's lieges, trawelland throw the realme, and of the prices of victualles, flesh, and fish,—It is ordained, that letters be direct, to commande and charge all provosts, aldermen, baillies, and officiares of burrowes, baith to regalatie and royallte, and als lords and utheris baronnes, that hes burgh in baronnie, and hostalleres on their landes, that they cause hostalleres baith to burgh and to lande. Ilk man within himselfe, and boundes of his office, to have honest chalmers and bedding for receiving of all passengers and stran-

must have enjoyed some reputation for its hosteleries, —at least, we may presume that Mr Cant's had been one of superior note and excellence, since it was chosen by these illustrious personages, on an occasion so memorable and important, a choice which, we may reasonably conclude, was directed by the usual motives which guide men in such speculations, good fare, good wine, and, last though not least, moderate reckonings. It would have been matter of great exultation to us, had we been able to point out to our readers the house of honest William Cant, or even the site of his, as we strongly suspect, departed mansion. But, alas ! the hand of time has press-

gers passand and trawelland throw the realme, weill and honestlie accultured with gude and sufficient stables, with heck and manger, corne, haye, and straa for their horse ; fleshe, fishe, bread, and aile, with uther furnishing for travellaures, to be saulde upon ane competent price, and sicklike stuffe as is sould commonly in the countrie about quhair sik hostellaries dwellis : And that they set zeirly prices thereupon, as the said hostelleries may live and susteine their ludgeings, under the paine to be called and punished therefore at the king's grace will." Many other acts, to the same purport with this, are to be found at an after-period. Amongst others, there is one in the reign of Queen Mary, anno 1551, which shews us, that the adulteration of wines is by no means a wickedness of modern invention. There does not seem, however, to have been any deleterious admixtures, for the act merely provides, " that na manner of taverners tak upon hand to make onle mixtion with ony auld wines and new wines of this zeir, or put ony water in the samen, under the peine of escheating of the puncheon that sick auld wine or water sall be put into, togidder with the rest of all and sundrie the wines, being the owners of sik ane taverne, and tinsel of their freedome for ever."

ed heavily on its roof-tree, and its once cheerful hearths have long been cold and desolate. If, however, it still exists, it is no longer to be distinguished from the common, and, comparatively speaking, ignoble herd of hoary and dilapidated mansions of the 16th century, of which Leith, by the way, can boast perhaps a larger proportion than any town of its size in Scotland.—But more of this in its proper place. On the whole, however, we do incline to believe, that Leith has excelled in the superiority of its taverns from a very remote period. In support of this opinion, we have three very striking illustrations, at three nearly equidistant periods; the first of these we have already given; the second, which we consider as amounting to complete and irrefragable evidence of the truth of our assertion, we shall now take the liberty of laying before our readers. The following bill of fare is copied *literatim* from the original document in the possession of our ingenious friend, Mr Robert Chambers.

1697. BILL FOR SIR JOHN SWINTON TO MRS KENDALL.*

For Broth	-	-	-	00.	03.	00.
For Rost Mutton, with Cutlets				01.	16.	00.

* In South Leith Church there is a stone built into the wall, pointing out the place of sepulture of one "James Kendall, skipper in Leith," who, the inscription tells us, died in 1674, aged 40 years. We think it not improbable, that our hostess was the widow of this "skipper." The slab to which we allude is placed in the wall, at a little distance from the back of the pulpit, and on the left hand going through the church, by the passage leading from the door on the north side.*

For ane dish of Hens	.	03.	00.	00.
For Herines	- . .	00.	05.	00.
For Almonds and Rasins	-	01.	06.	00.
For 3 L of Confections	-	07.	16.	00.
For Bread and Ale	- .	01.	00.	00.
For 3 pynts of Clarite	-	06.	00.	00.
For Sack	- . .	02.	16.	00.
For Oysters, fryed and raw		03.	16.	00.
For Brandie and Shugare		00.	06.	06.
For Servants	- . .	02.	02.	00.
<hr/>				
		30.	06.	06.

The above bill is thus docqueted and addressed at the bottom by Sir John: "Pay this bill for your friend, signed John Swinton. For D. Dundas of Phillipstoun, 5th November, 1697;" and is again indorsed, in all probability, by Dundas, "Bill paid at Leith, anno 1697."

We question whether any one of the splendid modern hotels in Edinburgh, or, indeed, any where else, can furnish forth more substantial or more nutritive viwers, than those enumerated in Mrs Kendall's bill: "rost mutton, with cutlets," a most unobjectionable dish surely; nay, a particularly captivating dish, and worthy the veneration of the human race. Then "ane dish of hens." What a sumptuous magnificence there is in this indefinite mode of expression! What superb ideas of abundance does it not create; and how infinitely superior to the niggardly numerical annunciation of a "couple of fowls!" After all this good

cheer, comes three "pynts of clarite," to wash down the aforesaid "rost mutton, &c." Surely he is unworthy, totally unworthy of existence, who will not acknowledge that this is, *in toto*, most unexceptionable living. We would not have it by any means inferred, that, by our not descanting on the other items of Mrs Kendall's bill, we therefore hold them in contempt. Not at all; they are all excellent in their kinds, from the indigenous broth down to the exotic "brandie and shugare;" and we could, with much pleasure and satisfaction to ourselves, and, we doubt not, much to the edification of our readers, dilate upon each of them for an hour together, taking them one by one as texts on which to found our discourses; but we cannot afford the space which such a digression would necessarily take up.

We cannot, however, conclude these remarks, or rather this essay, on Mrs Kendall's bill of fare, without observing, that it is of itself sufficient to prove, if proof is necessary, that Sir Anthony Weldon's "Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland," printed in 1659, was a scandalous libel on this country, unless, indeed, we allow that a very great improvement might have taken place in the mode of living in Scotland in the space of thirty-eight years, which is the distance of time between the publication of Sir Anthony's work and the date of honest Mrs Kendall's bill. This, however, we can scarcely concede, when we consider that the period of which we speak was the very reverse of being remarkable

for improvements of any kind, and that indeed it was not until a very late period that any thing like refinement found its way into Scotland. We may further remark, that improvement in the domestic economy of a people is always amongst the last concomitants of a general civilization, and that long before this is introduced, they may be found to excel in many of the highest departments of the arts and sciences.

Sir Anthony does not directly say, that he was really starved whilst in Scotland, or that there was absolutely nothing to be had to eat; but the tenor of his invective would lead us to infer, that any thing like a comfortable dinner was not to be found in the kingdom. "First, of the country," says he, "I must confess it is too good for those that possess it, and too bad for others to be at the charge to conquer it. The aire might be wholesome, but for the stinking people that inhabit it. The ground might be fruitful, had they wit to manure it. Their beasts be generally small, women only excepted, of which sort there are none greater in the whole world. There is great store of fowl too; as fowl houses, fowl sheets, fowl linen, fowl dishes and pots, fowl trenchers and napkins, with which in short we have been forced to say as the children did with their fowl in the wilderness. They have good store of fish, too, and good for those that can eat it raw; but if it were once into their hands, it is worse than if it were three days old. For their butter and cheese I will not meddle withal at this time, nor no man else at any time that loves his

life. They have great store of deer, but they are so far from the place where I have been, that I had rather believe than go to disprove it. I confess all the deer I met withal was dear lodgings, dear horse-meat, and dear tobacco, and English beer. As for fruit, for their grandsire Adam's sake, they never planted any ; and for other trees, had Christ been betrayed in this country (as doubtless he should had he come as a stranger), Judas had sooner found the grace of repentance than a tree to hang himself on. They have many hills, wherein they say is much treasure, but they shew none of it. Nature hath only discovered to them some mines of coal, to shew to what end she created them. I see little grass but in their pottage. The thistle is not given them for nought, for it is the fairest flower in their gardens. The word hay is heathen Greek unto them ; neither man nor beast knows what it is. Corn is reasonable plenty at this time ; for since they heard of the King's coming, it hath been as unlawful for the common people to eat wheat, as it was in the old time for any but the priests to eat shew-bread." After indulging at great length in a similar strain of abuse, Sir Anthony concludes with the following elegant philippic against the intellectual city, the Modern Athens : " The men of old did no more wonder that the great Messiah should be born in so poor a town as Bethlehem in Judea, than I do wonder that so brave a prince as King James should be born in so stinking a town as Edinburgh in lousy Scotland."

The next evidence which we would call in support of our assertion, that the taverns of Leith have always been of no common repute, is an extract from the poem entitled "Good Eating," by the ingenious but unfortunate Ferguson, who thus celebrates the comforts of a Leith tavern upwards of 50 years since :

" Or if for recreation you should stray
To Leithian shore, and breath the keener air,
Wafted from Neptune's empire of the main ;
If appetite invite, and cash prevail,
Ply not your joints upon the homeward tract,
'Til Lawson,* chiefest of the Scottish host,
To nimble-footed waiters give command
The cloth to lay. Instinctively they come,
And lo ! the table, wrapt in cloudy steams,
Groans with the weight of the transporting fare,
That breathes frank incense on the guests around."

Although the annals of Scotland do not present us with a more turbulent period than during the earlier part of the reign of James VI., yet we do not find that Leith was much annoyed during any part of these discordant times. The various plots and con-

* The house which Lawson kept is now called the Old Ship Tavern. About the time of Ferguson, this house was in such high repute for the excellence of its cheer, and the civility of its landlord, that a great many parties, composed of the most respectable lawyers then in Edinburgh, were in the practice of dining in Lawson's every Saturday. Chesnuts or prawns were a never-failing accompaniment to the wine, on these and other occasions, in this celebrated house.

tentions which distracted the kingdom, were, fortunately for Leith, carried on at a distance, being the only time, we believe, it escaped from sharing in the calamities with which the country happened to be afflicted.*

In the year 1590, under happier auspices, Leith was honoured, by the arrival, in its Roads, of James VI. with his young Queen, one of the princesses of Denmark, for whom, with a sudden ebullition of spirit and gallantry,† which contrasts strangely with his general character, he had crossed the seas, without any previous preparation, or making his intention known. This notable enterprise he undertook, as he himself says, to prove that “he was not led about by his chancellor by the nose, like an ass or a bairn,” a most weighty reason, it must be allowed, and stated in language both dignified and elegant, and every way

* In order to preserve chronological progression, we may notice here, that, in 1584, Leith was by act of parliament appointed the principal market for herrings and other fish taken in the Frith of Forth, a circumstance which must have added considerably to its importance, and to the trade of the port. In the year 1593, nine years after this, the inhabitants of Leith were, by the award of the presbytery of Edinburgh, divided into four classes,—Mariners, Maltmen, Trades, and Traffickers.

† Another instance of this ludicrous incongruity in the character of James, who, of all men that ever lived, was the worst fitted to act the part of a lover, is thus given by Moyes : After the King had been introduced to his betrothed, “he made as if he would kiss the Queen, according to the Scottish fashion, which she at first refused, *but after some explanation admitted!*”

befitting a king. The sapient Monarch and his Queen arrived, on the 1st of May, in the Roads, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, where, such was the uncouthness of the times, if we may be allowed the expression, they were compelled to remain on shipboard for six days, until the palace of Holyrood should be put into a fit state for their reception. Had the King's return been as sudden and unexpected as his departure, this awkward occurrence would be matter of little surprise ; but so far from this being the case, James had despatched, from Norway, William Shaw, master of works, nearly two months before, for the express purpose of ordering suitable preparations, and no doubt, at the same time, commanded him to enjoin his loving subjects to be aiding and assisting therein. It would appear to us, therefore, that William had either altogether forgotten or neglected the purpose of his mission, or, what indeed is more probable, that he lacked means to carry his master's wishes into effect, and that it was not until the case became pressing, and the honour of the country was at stake, that his Majesty's lovites bestirred themselves in the business of putting his palace in order for the becoming reception of his Royal Spouse and their new Queen. At length, however, on the 6th of May, the two illustrious personages were fairly landed, when they were received by the Duke of Lennox, the Lords Hamilton, Hume, and Dingwall, the Earls of Bothwell and Mar, the Officers of State, the Lords of Session, with the whole "honest men" of Edin-

burgh, Leith, and Canongate. James had particular reason to congratulate himself on his safe arrival on this occasion, as he had been sorely beset during his voyage with the incantations of witches, which, besides subjecting him to many lesser inconveniences, had frequently threatened him with shipwreck. These horrible and treasonable facts came to light some time after the arrival of the King, on the examination of certain accursed hags, accused of being in compact with the devil. These declared on their trial, that the King "had never come safely from the sea, had not his faith prevailed over their cantrips," which were performed on that occasion by means of a christened cat. The witches, however, were more successful in their attempts, about the same time, on a boat, which was employed in bringing over, from Burntisland to Leith, a variety of jewels and rich gifts, to be presented to the young Queen on her arrival at the latter place. Having taken the aforesaid christened cat, "and afterwards bounde to each part of that cat the chiefest part of a dead man, and several joynts of his bodie, it was conveyed into the middest of the sea by all the witches, sayling in their riddles and cives," and singing, as they sailed, their favourite catch of

"Cummer, go ye before ; cummer, go ye :
Gif ye winna go before, cummer, let me."

The infernal procession having reached the Roads, "left the said cat right before the town of Leith."

The consequence of this proceeding was exactly what might be expected. There immediately arose "such a tempest in the sea, as a greater hath not been seen," in which the unfortunate boat and all on board soon perished. Thus finding that they could not, with all their hellish devices, injure the sacred person of the godly monarch himself, they determined to do him all the mischief otherwise they could. The investigation which brought these marvellous circumstances to light was superintended by James in person, who took much delight in presiding at the examinations of these servants of the arch enemy, as may be found at most satisfactory length in that true and edifying discourse, intituled, the "Damnable Life of Doctor Fian," who was burned at Edinburgh, in January 1591.

About this period (1607) the Edinburghers, either from a sudden impulse of alarm, created by reflecting on the precariousness and imperfectness of their title to the superiority of Leith, or from a desire to secure their prey in such an effectual manner as to preclude all hope of escape, set actively about obtaining the reversion of the superiority which James VI.* had conveyed to Lord Maitland of Thirlstane, after the

* James was himself extremely anxious that the superiority of Leith should be restored to him, and with that view addressed a letter to the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh. In answer thereto, a deputation waited upon him at Stirling. What passed on that occasion between James and these worthy representatives of the Council of Edinburgh, we are unable to tell, but the former never afterwards renewed his request on the subject of the superiority of Leith.

attainment of Bothwell, in the year 1587, without ever dreaming, however, of refunding to the Leithers the original sum which they had advanced for its purchase. The Edinburghers were also spurred on to this measure, by having learnt that the Leithers themselves were in treaty on this subject with Lord Thirlstane, to whom the right of reversion had descended from his father, Lord Maitland. To counteract this attempt of the people of Leith to procure their freedom, and in great alarm lest their prey should escape them, the common council hastily despatched John Hay, their deputy town clerk, to England, whither King James had by this time gone, enjoining him to use his utmost endeavours at court to thwart the Leithers, and to secure the reversion. Hay unfortunately, by dint of application and address, succeeded in the object of his mission. The reversion was secured, and afterwards ratified, in November 1614, by Lord Thirlstane, who had then attained his majority. The defrauded and injured Leithers had, however, it would appear, made great exertions on this occasion to procure their emancipation. Amongst other attempts, their agent, Robert Lindsay, had offered Lady Cassels 6000 merks for her interest, but without effect, in consequence, it is probable, of her being tendered a greater sum by the Edinburghers. Thus was the subjugation of the Leithers completed, and a long tale of iniquity and oppression wound up with an act of injustice and chicanery. Superior influence and greater wealth

bore down, and finally triumphed over the honest exertions of a people struggling for their natural rights, and who had been long grievously harassed by the brutal tyranny of their task-masters.

In no place was that celebrated convention, the solemn league and covenant, treated with more reverence, or its ratification more solemnly conducted, than in Leith, where it was signed by the inhabitants, in the month of October, 1643.* In order to impress on the minds of the people what was deemed a proper sense of the great importance of that act which they were about to be called upon to perform, and in order to fit their minds for the discharge of a duty which, it was considered, involved both their temporal and eternal welfare, it was ordained that there should be a fast upon the Sunday preceding those days appointed for the signing of the covenant: these were, for Leith, Tuesday the 24th of October, Thursday the 26th, and Friday the 27th; and for Restalrig, Sunday the 29th, in the afternoon. That no-

* During the religious ferments in 1639, occasioned by the unfortunate King Charles's attempt to introduce the liturgy into the Church of Scotland, and when the nation rose in arms to oppose this ungodly innovation, it was determined, amongst other measures, to fortify Leith, a circumstance which is thus mentioned by Guthrie, in his Memoirs. "The officers of the army being all agreed on a fortification of the town of Leith, it was begun and advanced very fast, in regard that beside the inferior sort, and such as wrought for pay, incredible numbers of volunteers, and those of all sorts, noblemen, gentlemen, and others, wrought at it, and none busier in bearing the rubbish than ladies of honour." P. 54.

thing might be wanting to hallow this important act, and to increase its sacred character, a sermon was preached on each day before subscribing the tremendous document. On the Sunday appointed for the fast, which was the 22d of October, when the congregation had assembled, the minister stood up in the pulpit and commanded all present to rise, which done, they all with uplifted hands solemnly swore to abide by the covenant. Thereafter, the days which we have already named were appointed for subscribing the sacred instrument.

In the short space of two years after this, Leith presents us with a very different scene from that which we have just been contemplating. A calamity now overtook the unhappy town, which, as it nearly depopulated the place, must have swept from the face of the earth the greater part of those whom we have found but a short while before engaging with such deep devotion and intense feeling in the cause of their country and their God.

In the year 1645, Leith was visited with that most appalling of all earthly evils, the plague, the horrors of which were aggravated by a dreadful famine. The former continued the work of death and desolation, without abatement or intermission, from the month of April until December following, during which time there perished, in South Leith alone, 2421 persons ;* in Restalrig 160 ; and in Craigend 155. When

* This circumstance is thus minuted in the books of South Leith Church Session :—“ Not of defuncts the time of the visitatione, ut

we consider that the whole population of Leith at this period could not exceed from four to five thousand, we must be forcibly impressed with the amazing havoc made by the loathsome and fatal distemper.

The church-yard of South Leith being found too small to contain the numbers of dead that were daily brought for interment, a great many were buried in the Links. The bones of these unfortunate beings are yet found in large quantities, when any excavation happens to be made in that ground, particularly at the south-west corner. A remarkable instance of this occurred when the foundation of Wellington Place was being dug. On that occasion an immense quantity of these melancholy remains of mortality were thrown up; and more lately, whilst some partial improvements were making in Constitution Street, a little way above the English Chapel, there were exhumated the remains of not fewer, perhaps, than ten or twelve persons, from an excavation not more than twenty feet long, and three broad.

To these traces of the ravages of this terrible ca-

sequitur, February 3d, 1646. The quhilk day (after incalling upon God), Mr David Aldinstone, reader, reportit that he had gone to everie elder in particular, and receavit the number of the defuncts who died of the infectione, in anno 1645, and the number is," &c. In Moyes' Memoirs we find the following notice regarding the plague of 1680: "At this time," says that author, "the plague was brought into Scotland in John Downie's ship, called the William, of Leith, from Dantzick. The persons therein were appointed to land and remain at St Colm's Inch. There were forty persons in the ship, whereof most part died."

famity, we may add, that about thirty years since, when levelling a part of the Links, on the north side of the road leading to Hermitage Hill, and not far from the toll-bar placed there, a great many bodies, or rather the remains of bodies, swathed in blankets, were disinterred. These blankets were exactly similar to the coarse Scotch blanket of the present day, having broad blue stripes alongst their borders. We presume, that the friends of these unfortunate persons had been unable to bear the charge of coffins for their departed relatives, and had therefore just wrapped them in, and interred them with the blankets in which they had died ; or, it may be, that the bed-clothes of the deceased were buried with the body, to guard, as far as possible, against the danger of infection.

The miseries of Leith, under the double calamity of plague and famine, became so intolerably distressing, that it was deemed necessary to supplicate the aid of the legislature towards alleviating the evils of the latter. Accordingly, Mr John Aldistone, bailie of Leith, and Captain James Crawford, were appointed to present a petition to parliament, which was then assembled at Perth. The consequence of this application was, the immediate passing of the following act in favour of the town :

“ The act of parliament given at Perth, the 2d August, 1645, for relief of the distressed town of Leith, the tyme of the great visitatione of the plague of pestilence.

“ At Pearth, the seconde day of Auguste, in the year of God 1645 years.—The estate of parliament, now presently conveynet, in the fourth sessione of the first triennial parliament, by virtue of the last act of the last parliament, holdine be his majestie, and three estates, anno 1641, having taken to their consideration the desyre of ane supplicatione, given in by John Aldinstone, ane of the baillies of Leith, and Captain James Crawford, indweller there, for themselves, and in behalf of the *remanent inhabitants* of the said town of Leith, bearing, that where it is not unknowne to the said estaites the calamity and distress whereunder the saide towne do lye for the present, being visit with the plague of pestilence in such sort, that the *number of the dead exceeds the number of the leiving*, and amongst them it cannot be discernit quha are clean, and quha are foulle; and, to make the calamity the greater, they are visit with ane lamentable famine, both for penurie, and also for laick of means; for which cause, the said supplicants are forced, in their names, to have recourse to the said estaites, beseeching them, out of the bowells of mercie, to conserat their lamentable estaite, both towards them, as also towards the rest of the countrie, they being now reducit to thae extremities of necessity, rather to perish of famine, to breake throue the rest of the countrie, whereby the haille kingdome shall be indangerit: and therefore humbly beseeching their lordships to grant unto them some present supplie,

and to tak such present course for their reliefe, as the foresaide evil may be previened, as the said supplication af mair length bears.

“Quhilk supplicatione being redde in the audience of parliament, and the just merits thereof being duly weighted and considered, the said estaites of parliament, be their presents, give and grants full power and warrand to the present Magistrates of the towne of Leith, or their commissioners and servandes, having their warrande, to medle and intromet with the number of ane quantitie of five hundreth bolls of eat meill, and that out of anie sellar or sellars in Leith, wherebe they may have it for medling and intrometting wherewith, and (if need bees) making open doores for that effect. The said estaites declares thir presents to be to the said Magistrates, and their servandes, or commissioners, ane sufficient warrand ; and the said estaites of parliament has allowed, and be thir presents grants full libertie to the said Magistrates of Leith, or anie having their warrand, to passe through all the sherriffdoms of this kingdome, or any of them, as they thinke fitt, be south the watter of Tay, to crave the help and supplie of ane volunteerie and charitable contributione, for payment of the foresaid victual, and furnishing of such things as may be useful to the said town of Leith, now in such an extremitie.”

This is certainly a most frightful picture of desolation and misery. Two of the greatest evils which can afflict the human race are here found stalking side

by side, and co-operating in the work of extermination. Of the appalling mortality which took place on this occasion, these forcible expressions in the act, "the remanent inhabitants," give us a very lively idea, and impress more strongly on the mind the fearful havoc made by the dreadful malady, than a laboured and circumlocutory description.

The next memorable period in the annals of Leith, is the year 1650, when Cromwell, having defeated the Scottish forces at Dunbar, commanded by General Leslie, marched his victorious army into Edinburgh, whilst, at the same time, Lambert, his major-general, took possession of Leith, to the great alarm and consternation of the inhabitants. Their fears, however, for their personal safety, were groundless. No violence was attempted by the English army, nor were those even who had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious to the victorious general punished otherwise than by fine and exactions. Cromwell, though not at all inclined to shed the blood of the vanquished, had not, by any means, the same feeling of tenderness for their purses. On the contrary, he determined to avail himself of the rights of a conqueror over a conquered people, and to make them pay, in hard coin, for the civility and forbearance with which they were treated. Accordingly, Lambert, by public proclamation, assessed the inhabitants and heritors of Edinburgh and Leith in two hundred pounds sterling, to be paid before the 21st of December. This assessment amounted, in Scotch money, to

L.2400, and was raised by levying distinct and proportionate sums on Edinburgh, South Leith, North Leith, Canongate, and Pleasance. Besides this exaction, the different places just named were each assessed in the sums following, to be paid monthly after the 21st December: Edinburgh L.72. 3s. 4d.; South Leith L.18. 4s.; North Leith L.4. 3s. 6d.; Canongate L.9. 0s.11d.; and Pleasance L.13.11s. 5d. These exactions must have borne particularly hard on Leith, which, as we have seen, was, but five years before, supplicating parliamentary aid to alleviate the evils of penury and famine, a state from which it is impossible to conceive they should have wholly recovered in so short a period. These assessments of Cromwell, therefore, must have been grievously oppressive to the Leithers; indeed, we cannot see by what means they were at all enabled to meet the demands of the conqueror.

The celebrated General Monk, having been appointed by Cromwell commander-in-chief of the English forces in Scotland, came to reside in Leith, where a strong and regular garrison was established.* In the year 1654, three years after the total reduction of Scotland by the Protector, when a degree of tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom which had been long unknown, and an impartial and equal administration of justice was exercised, which none of its native monarchs ever could or would have dared

* See Antiquities.

to dispense, General Monk, impressed with the many and important advantages which Leith possessed, in a commercial point of view, and probably perceiving that those who lived on the spot did not make the most of these advantages, invited a number of English families to come and settle in the town. The favourable representation of the place with which Monk's invitations was supported, induced a great many of his countrymen to leave England, and take up their residence in Leith. Nor were these by any means a parcel of needy adventurers; the most of them were men of considerable wealth, who migrated with the view of embarking in mercantile speculations, for which some capital, less or more, was absolutely necessary. That they were all, or mostly, men of property, is established by the fact, that in a short time after their settlement in Leith, there were no less than forty sail of ships belonging exclusively to the English residents in the town. The greater part of these were employed in carrying stores and provisions for the various English garrisons throughout the kingdom. This proceeding of Monk's, and the consequent influx of strangers into Leith, was particularly offensive to the Edinburghers, who now saw the trade of their port shared, if not wholly engrossed, by the English emigrants. Not daring, however, to indulge in open remonstrance, they contented themselves with harassing the new settlers by various indirect modes of oppression, and more openly by shackling their trade with endless exactions and

imposts. These at length became so burdensome, and the general conduct of the Edinburghers so intolerable, that the former were obliged to complain to Monk of the hardships to which they were subjected. That general in consequence wrote several letters to Cromwell, representing the grievances of the English merchants in Leith, and soliciting his interference. In order more effectually to interest the Protector in their behalf, Monk urged the considerations of their important services to the commonwealth, and the great hardship it would be to them, besides loss to the army, to be compelled to return to England, after having settled with their families in Leith. In consequence of these representations, Cromwell ordered that the matter in discussion should be referred to Monk himself, and two of the Scotch judges. The poor Leithers, thinking this a favourable opportunity for procuring some amelioration of their own condition, and hoping that, in the general redress of grievances which they expected was about to take place, theirs might also be quietly removed, made common cause with the English residents, and joined them in subscribing a memorial to be laid before the three arbiters. In this paper, the memorialists complained of the grievous burdens imposed upon them by the Edinburghers. They stated that their trade was fettered by various and intolerable exactions; that they were threatened with being compelled to discontinue carrying on any sort of business, either in their houses or shops; that they were not

allowed either to live or prosecute their employments in peace ; and that the Edinburghers had declared to them, that if they would reside in Edinburgh, they would liberate their trade from all restraint, but, if they continued to live in Leith, they would oppress them to the utmost of their power. The memorialists represented how unreasonable this proposition was, seeing that they had established themselves in Leith by building and taking houses on lease there, and that therefore they could not, though willing, without great inconvenience and loss, remove themselves and families to Edinburgh. The Edinburghers, in order to obviate the effects of this exposé, and to prevent any discussion on a subject which involved both their interests and reputation, and whose result would, in all probability, be an abridgment of their power, had recourse to their old expedient, bribery. In this case, they handed over a *douceur* to General Monk, with a polite request, no doubt, that the General would not trouble himself any further with the matter. Monk pocketed the coin, and nothing more was ever heard of the memorial. How the Edinburghers disposed of the two venerable judges, who were to act in conjunction with the former, we have not learned ; but it is possible, that they also touched something comfortable on this occasion. Whether, however, they really did so or not, Monk's influence was sufficient to put an end to the proceeding, or rather to prevent its being begun : he being secured, the rest was easy. As the English residenters in Leith

had been induced to settle there through the representations of Monk, he was, for this and other reasons, bound in a particular manner to watch over their interests, and to see that they suffered no injustice. As a total neglect, therefore, of his duty on this occasion might have led to serious consequences, and might have subjected him to the displeasure of Cromwell, it is probable, that he would compromise the matter by recommending it in civil terms to the Edinburghers to use his countrymen with as much lenity as possible. The case of the Leithers, again, who had no such claims upon him, it is equally probable, he left exactly as he found it. Upon the whole, however, Leith enjoyed more happiness and prosperity during the protectorate of Cromwell, than it had done at any former period. The soldiers of the garrison were regularly paid, and the most of that pay was spent in Leith, a circumstance which considerably increased the circulation of money. The trade of the port rapidly improved, and a great many wealthy English families continued to repair to Leith. Thus the town, altogether, presented a scene of bustle and growing importance, which plainly indicated that a mighty change for the better had taken place, not only in Leith, but throughout the whole kingdom. It is extremely probable, likewise, that during this period the Edinburghers would not dare to exercise, to the fullest extent of its iniquity, that tyranny with which they had hitherto scourged and enslaved the

unfortunate Leithers. That they still oppressed them, is evident, from the share which the latter had in the memorial already spoken of; but we do incline to think that the Edinburghers would not venture to perpetrate any of those flagrant acts of injustice towards them, which they so frequently and unblushingly committed during the reigns of our native Monarchs, since Cromwell, who well knew that no circumstance will sooner reconcile a conquered people to subjection than an equal distribution of justice, was particularly careful that it should be regularly and impartially disseminated in Scotland, where he had, besides, with a policy worthy of so able a legislator, in a great measure abrogated the enslaving laws of vassalage. The Edinburghers, therefore, it may be presumed, would be extremely cautious how they offended a ruler, who, notwithstanding the crimes which blacken his name, was, when he had attained supreme authority, both humane and equitable, and resolute in the execution of justice. Nor could their conduct, had it been marked by those flagitious acts of oppression towards their vassals which had rendered them infamous in former times, have escaped the vigilance of the Protector, who, had the case been otherwise, would not have failed instantly to make the oppressors feel the weight of his vengeance, and the consequences of his displeasure.

As some relaxation from the constrained and measured march of historical narration, we shall take the

liberty of introducing here a copy of an Act of the Council of Edinburgh, relating to "hackney coatches," and which, besides being, as we deem it, a curious document, will be found in strict chronological accordance with the events spoken of in this work.

*"Apud Edin. the twentie-eight day of Sept.
sixteen hundred and three scoire years.*

"Grants libertie and tolerance to William Woodcock, lait oficer in Leith, to fitt and set up ane haickney coatch, for service of his Majesty's leidges betwix Leith and Edinburgh, at the rates following, viz.: For the coatch hyre up or down, with ane single person, 12 shillings; if the person desire to go alone, and if that person who hyres the coatch will wait for another to go alongs with him, to pay no more. If three persons goe alongs together, to pay no more bot 12 pence all the three. If any mae persons nor three, each man to pay four shill. Scots, for their hyre, and the persons coming up to Edinburgh, to light at the fute of Leith Wynd, for the staynes yr. of, and this order to continue during the counsell's pleasure allanerlie. Bot prejudice always to the said William Woodcock, to serve others going to and frae the country, to other places, as he and they can agree."

From this document it would appear that if William fell in with a country-customer, there was no "coatche" that day for Leith. There could therefore be little dependance on a vehicle so irregular in its

motions, and whose owner was possessed of such ample powers at once of accommodating and disappointing the public. In this state of matters, we may presume that the first inquiry would be, not when does the coach start for Leith, but, will there be a coach for Leith to-day? To this interrogation the answer would, in many cases, probably be, that the "coatche" was away to Dalkeith or Musselburgh, and that it could not reasonably be expected back in less than a week,—no extravagant length of time, if we duly consider all the probable circumstances of the case. In the first place, we may conceive that the machine would be in a state of general disrepair before setting out; the axle-tree probably broken through the middle and tied with a cord, three or four spokes on leave of absence from each wheel; the uncouth and rusty rotten harness inefficiently repaired, and eked in sundry places with straw ropes and strings; execrable roads; and a driver who had never seen or heard of such a thing as a "coatche" in his life before. Under such circumstances, great despatch certainly could not be expected. Whether what we have imagined approaches the truth or not, we may readily believe that, in those rude times, when little was known of the mechanical arts, this machine of Woodcock's would not only be superlatively clumsy and awkward, but constantly in a state of deplorable dilapidation, as there was not then, nor till many years afterwards, a single coachmaker in Edinburgh; any injury, therefore, which the vehicle sustained from accident

or ravages of time, must either have been left altogether unrepaired, or, at best, have been uncouthly patched up by some unskilful artificer, in a department of mechanics approaching the legitimate one. As this last, therefore, would most probably be the case, it is natural to suppose that the machine, originally clumsy, would in time become, from various monstrous emendations, and a constant accession of strength by the accumulation of timber and iron, one of the most shapeless and hideous objects in nature, and probably at last become fairly incapable of motion. In the year 1763, there were but two coaches plying between Edinburgh and Leith. These, however, were formidable establishments, having no less than three horses each, with a coachman and postillion. Notwithstanding of this, they occupied a full hour in performing the journey. How they contrived to spend so much time in travelling so short a distance, it is hardly possible to conceive, unless we presume, that, during every expedition, the vehicle underwent some necessary repairs upon the road, and that, however sound they set out, something was sure to go wrong before they reached their destination. In a view of Leith, published about this period, and which embraces a portion of the Easter Road, one of these tremendous machines is represented as approaching the town with its full complement of horses and attendants. The driver, if we recollect right, is adorned with a huge cocked hat, and sits majestically in front of the coach, while the *garde-du-corps*, mounted on

horseback, seems to be keeping a watchful and distrustful eye on the huge machine, as it lumbers along; and we presume it would be a part of his duty to ride round the vehicle occasionally, to see that all was right. In the print to which we allude, the whole procession, which, by the way, is not unlike a cavalcade going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, seems to be getting along pretty comfortably, and in a fair way of reaching its destination in safety, for which, no doubt, the travellers would consider themselves in a special manner indebted to the kindness of providence.* With regard to the coach itself, the first thing that strikes one is its enormous and unwieldy bulk, overloaded as it is with heavy ornaments, and an amazing number and variety of awkward projections and appendages, which altogether give it an appearance of immobility and uncouthness totally inconsistent with the purposes of despatch or comfort; and

* They manage things better now. There are this year (1827) six stage-coaches plying between Edinburgh and Leith. These accomplish sixty-two trips from each place daily. The comfort, elegance, and complete equipment of these carriages, and the expedition with which they travel, are all highly creditable to their public-spirited proprietors, and deserving of every encouragement. Since we are on the subject of stage-coaches, we may mention, that the first which plied between Edinburgh and Glasgow, was set a-going on the 24th April, 1749. This coach ran only twice a-week from Edinburgh, Monday and Thursday, and from Glasgow, Tuesday and Friday; the fare was 9s., and each passenger was allowed a stone-weight of baggage. In this year, also, a stage-coach began to run between Corstorphine and the city: this journey it performed nine times every week-day, and four times on Sunday; fare, for each person, sixpence.

accordingly, in the print of which we are speaking, they seem to be jogging along, as if, in place of a stage-coach, they had got the Calton Hill upon wheels, and were removing it to Leith, and that, too, not so expeditiously as it might be done. Woodcock, however, was not the first who ran coaches between Edinburgh and Leith. In the year 1610, Henry Anderson, an inhabitant of Stralsund in Pomerania, offered to bring from that country, coaches and waggon, with horses to draw, and servants to attend them, provided an exclusive privilege of keeping these carriages was secured to him. Anderson's offer was accepted, and a royal patent immediately granted, securing him, for fifteen years, in the sole benefit to arise from plying coaches between Edinburgh and Leith, and the rate of fare for each was fixed at two shillings Scots. The first introduction of these conveyances into Britain was in 1580, but they were not used for the accommodation of the public until 1610, when, as we have just related, they were introduced for that purpose by Anderson. It is, however, said, that Lady Margaret brought a chariot into Scotland when she came to marry James IV.

After the death of Cromwell, and the accession of Charles II. we find little connected with the history of Leith worthy of being recorded, until the year 1710. In absence, therefore, of more important matter, and not to leave such an unseemly gap in our narrative, we shall take the liberty of introducing here;

some account of two occurrences which took place in Leith during that interval, and which, though scarcely of sufficient moment to become a part of its history, may yet be found not altogether without interest, nor unworthy of filling up a hiatus in its annals. The first of these is the murder of Elias Poirer Sieur de la Roche; the second is the execution of Captain Green and his crew, who were hanged upon Leith Sands for piracy.

About the latter end of the seventeenth century, there was a tavern, or hostellerie, in the Kirkgate of Leith, kept by one Brown, for the reception of strangers, and others resorting to the port. Being at that time one of the most reputable houses of entertainment in Leith, it was much frequented by travellers, and by the better class of native *bons vivans*, or gallants of the day. In the year 1691, amongst other strangers who sojourned with mine Host of the Kirkgate, were three Frenchmen, brothers, Elias, Isaac, and George Poirer, protestant refugees, and gentlemen of his Majesty's troop of guards.

About 12 o'clock at night, on the 8th of March, the quiet of Brown's well-regulated hostellerie was suddenly disturbed, by the entrance of three persons, all in a state of intoxication, and, consequently, ready to engage in any piece of mischief which might fall in their way, and equally ready to create it if necessary. These men were, John, Master of Tarbet, Mowat, an ensign in the army, and one Sinclair. All the

Inmates of the house, excepting two female-servants, being in bed, they took possession of that apartment which was in these days called the hall, and ordered in a quantity of ale. After drinking for a short while, the Master of Tarbet, who had been attracted by the charms of their female attendant, suddenly started up from the table at which he had been sitting with his companions, for the purpose of following the girl, who had just left the apartment. Being now, however, much inebriated, he soon lost both his way and the object of his pursuit, and, in his confusion, stumbled into the bed-chamber occupied by Geo. Poiret, one of the three brothers. The latter immediately challenged the intruder, and an angry altercation between the parties was the consequence. From words they proceeded to blows; and, grappling each other in the dark, continued struggling violently, until another of Brown's maid-servants, who had been alarmed with the noise, entered the apartment with a lighted candle. Here she found Poiret sitting up naked in the bed, his night-cap off, his cheek besmeared with blood, and all the bed-clothes tumbled about in the utmost confusion. The girl, terrified by what she saw, immediately called out to Mowat, whom she thought the most sober of the party, and who was sitting by the fire in the hall, to come to her. On Mowat's entering the apartment, the Frenchman hastily took down his sword, for the purpose of defending himself. The weapon, however, was immediately wrested from him by the for-

mer, with the assistance of the Master of Tarbet.* The girl now greatly alarmed, entreated Mowat to take the latter out of the room, which with some difficulty he accomplished, as he continued struggling and exclaiming, "he would go back and crave the gentleman's pardon." In the meantime, Poiret, who had got out of bed, began to rap on the roof of his bed-chamber with a pair of tongs, in order to bring to his assistance his two brothers, Isaac and Elias, who slept in the apartment above. The brothers, alarmed by the knocking, hurried on their clothes, armed themselves with swords and pistols, and hastened down to George's bed-room. Here a short consultation took place between the three brothers, and thereafter Isaac and Elias proceeded straight to the hall, where they found the Master of Tarbet, Mowat, and Sinclair. Swords were immediately drawn on both sides, some pistol-shots were exchanged, and in a few seconds the whole were engaged hand to hand. Brown, the landlord, who had been in bed, and who had either not been aware of what had already taken place, or had been unwilling to interfere, was now called up by one of his servants. On hearing the noise of the conflict in the hall, he instantly despatched a messenger to call the guard. Before their arrival, one of the maid-servants, on looking into the apartment which

* A rather singular sort of retributive justice overtook the Master of Tarbet, for the share which he had in this murder. A few years after the crime was committed, he divorced his lady for her gallantries with a Frenchman named Lavallette.

was the scene of battle, perceived Isaac Poiret standing on the floor with his sword drawn, his hand streaming with blood, and his little finger nearly cut off. One of the combatants, Elias Poiret, had also by this time fallen, having been run through the body with a sword, which instantly killed him. On the arrival of the guard, they proceeded to search for the murderer, who had disappeared, and could no where be found. Some of the neighbours, however, who had seen one of the party making his escape, pointed out a stair at a short distance, as the place of his concealment. Here, accordingly, they found Mowat standing behind a deal : he was desired to come out, but remained motionless, and made no reply. On this the guard presented their pieces at him. Intimidated by this proceeding, he now came forth and surrendered himself. A naked sword, which at first he endeavoured to conceal beneath his coat, much bent, and bloody both in blade and hilt, was found upon him. Mowat was now carried to prison, and brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary, on the 18th of August following ; but as nothing like positive evidence could be adduced, that he was the person who had struck the fatal blow, the jury found the charge of murder against him not proven, and he was, in consequence, dismissed from the bar ; and certainly we do not see that any other result could have been expected, since the whole matter was merely one of these fatal tavern brawls, which were of such frequent occurrence about this period, and for many years

afterwards, when men went armed about the ordinary business of life, and when the sword, which was their constant attendant, even at the social board, was appealed to on all occasions of quarrel, however trifling their origin, and however unmeet the circumstances in which the combatants happened to be placed.

In the year 1702, Captain Green sailed from England in the good ship called the Worcester, on a trading voyage to the East Indies, whence, in those days, the adventurous mariners of England were wont to bring, in their high-sterned and high-prowed argosies, that well-known and sumptuous cargo, consisting of gold dust, elephants' teeth, and rich spices. Sometime in the month of January, or February, 1703, whilst Captain Green was cruising off the coast of Malabar, and between Telicherry and Calicut, he fell in with a Scottish ship, commanded by one Drummond, who was also owner of the vessel. Green, probably, not having been so successful in his trading as he could have wished, or thinking piracy a shorter and more certain way of attaining the object of his voyage, and no doubt conceiving that the crime might be committed in those remote seas without much danger of detection, immediately attacked the Scottish vessel. Drummond, imagining that the Worcester had mistaken him for an enemy, instantly, on being fired upon, hung out English colours, with the view of undeceiving his assailant. Regardless, however, of the friendly signal, the Worcester continued her fire, which Drummond

finding that fight he must, at length returned. A running fight between the two vessels now commenced, and continued for three successive days. At the end of that period, the Scotch vessel, which had been all along endeavouring to escape from the superior force of her enemy, perceiving that both flight and resistance were equally vain, ceased making any further opposition, and was consequently taken. The captors having boarded their prize, brought up her crew from between decks, where they had taken shelter, and deliberately, and in cold blood, butchered them one by one with hatchets, throwing, as they killed them, their dead and mangled bodies into the sea. They then proceeded to remove the cargo into the Worcester, and thereafter sold the vessel to a merchant, a native of the country. Soon after this, Green returned to England, where, as the dreadful secret was well kept by his crew, and as there was then comparatively but little intercourse with those distant regions in which the crime had been committed, no suspicion whatever of his guilt existed. Time passed on, and the guilty ship, notwithstanding the load of crime which was upon her, returned and returned again in safety from the perils of the sea, and still the horrible story was known to none but the murderers themselves. The vengeance of Heaven, however, although it had long refrained from striking the retaliatory blow, continued to hang over the devoted ship; but in place of overwhelming her in the billows of the ocean, where no eye might witness the

punishment of the guilty, it was reserved for the hand of man to execute, in sight of the world, the deed of retributive justice.

In the beginning of the year 1705, the Worcester happening to come into the Roads of Leith, was there laid under arrest, and carried into Burntisland by virtue of a precept from the Scotch Court of Admiralty, at the instance of the Indian and African Company of Scotland, by way of reprisal, for a capture made by an English ship. During all this time, however, no suspicion whatever existed of the piracy, and its consequent murders, committed by Green and his crew. Now, however, the whole dreadful transaction came to light, and in the following singular manner :

William Wood, an artilleryman, and one John Henderson, a writer in Edinburgh, happening to be in Burntisland, fell, by mere accident, into company with George Haines, steward of the Worcester. After the party had sat together for some time, during which they had drank pretty hard, and had been exceedingly merry, Haines all at once, from being the most boisterous and jovial of the company, became extremely melancholy and taciturn. The transition was so sudden and obvious, as to induce Henderson to inquire the reason, to which Haines replied : " It is a wonder that since we did not sink at sea, that God does not make the ground open and swallow us up when we are come ashore, for the wickedness that has been committed during the last voyage on board

of that old b—h," pointing to Captain Green's ship, which lay in the harbour.

Wood, on this, observed to Haines, that Madder's uncle was burned in oil for attempting to burn the Dutch ships at Amsterdam. To this remark, Haines rejoined, "If what Madder had done during this last voyage were as well known, he deserved as much as his uncle had met with." Nothing more passed on the subject: the party soon afterwards broke up, but the dark hints which had fallen from Haines were not forgotten. The story took air, and vague but strong suspicions of guilt began to attach to the Worcester. These were further strengthened by another remarkable occurrence. One Wilkie, a tailor, whose brother had sailed in Drummond's ship, and of course had been murdered with the rest of the crew of that unfortunate vessel, on hearing of the arrival of Green's ship in Burntisland, hastened over from Leith, where he resided, with his mother, to inquire of those belonging to her, if they could give any tidings of Drummond's ship. On this occasion, they also happened, by a singular chance, to fall in with Haines, who seems to have been the most unguarded of the whole crew, and whose guilty conscience was constantly impelling him to divulge the dreadful secret. Wilkie, who met with him in the house of one Mr Seaton, a publican, and soon discovering that he belonged to the Worcester, inquired of him, whether he had seen Captain Drummond's ship in the course of his voyage? To this Haines replied, in a passion,

“Damn me, what have I to do with Captain Drummond?” In consequence of this harsh reply, Wilkie dropped the subject. Shortly after, however, when they had drank a little together, perceiving Haines had gotten into somewhat better humour, he again asked him if he had not seen nor heard of any Scotch ship in the East Indies? To this Haines made the following singular reply: “That when they were upon the Malabar coast, they were informed that one Captain Drummond, commander of a Scotch ship, had turned pirate, upon which they had manned their sloop and made themselves ready for an attack, but they did not see Captain Drummond.” Haines then spontaneously, with that remarkable propensity which he evinced on all occasions to blabbing the horrible tale, which was always uppermost in his mind, added, that he had in his custody, when the Worcester was seized in Leith Roads, what he would not have had to fall into the seizers’ hands for twice the value of the ship, and that he had thrown it overboard after the ship was seized. “And now,” he added, “let them seek it at the bottom of the sea.” What Haines here alluded to, was afterwards discovered to be a private journal which he was in the habit of keeping, and wherein, amongst other memoranda, were some particulars regarding the piracy and murders. This conversation with Wilkie becoming known, and being corroborative of what had already dropped from Haines, the suspicions of some dark deed committed by Green and

his crew became every day stronger and stronger, Haines, like a moth flickering round the flame of a candle, continued, in all companies, and on all occasions, to hover, in his conversation, around the subject of his guilt, to which he was constantly attracted by a strange infatuation. The consequence of this conduct at length was, that himself, Captain Green, with the whole crew of the Worcester, were apprehended, thrown into prison, and brought to trial on the 5th of March, 1705, when, their guilt being clearly established, they were all, thirteen in number, besides Green, condemned to death, and on the 4th of April thereafter, the Captain, with his first mate, Madder, and Simpson, the gunner, were hanged upon Leith Sands. The rest were reprieved from time to time, and finally pardoned, the evidence upon which they were condemned being thought, after all, rather insufficient. It has been alleged by one party, that Green, and that part of his crew who suffered along with him, were sacrificed to a popular clamour against the English government, which then agitated the whole kingdom to an alarming extent, in consequence of the opposition which the former made, and the final ruin which it brought on the Scotch settlement on the Isthmus of Darien, from which the most sanguine expectations had been entertained. This, however, cannot be admitted, when we consider the facts which we have related, and which appeared, on a full and fair investigation of the case, in an open court of

justice. At all events, we do think that vague and general assertion is of little weight, when placed in opposition with the decision of the highest judicatory in the kingdom.

In order to give some idea of the state of the medical science* about this period, and that no circumstance within our knowledge which redounds to the credit of ancient Leith may be omitted, we give the following singular hand-bill, taken from a copy preserved in the Advocates' Library, and which, though without a date, is supposed to belong to the beginning of the last century :

“ At Leith there is a bath-stove erected and set up by William Paul, after the fashion of Poland and Germany, which is approven by all the doctors of physick and apothecaries in Edinburgh and elsewhere, as also by all travellers and gentlemen, to be a sovereign remedy in curing of all diseases, and for preventing of sickness, both of young and old men, women, and children, from half a year upwards, with the help of doctors of physick thereto.

* Arnot has the following corroborative note on the subject : “ One Joannis Michael Philo, physician, sets forth to the privy council, that his Majesty had allowed him to practise his profession in England, and for that purpose to erect *public stages*, and he entreats the same liberty in this kingdom. The council accordingly allow him to erect a stage in the city of Edinburgh, but they also appoint the petition to be intimated to, and answered by the Master of Revels, against the next meeting of the council, and in the meantime discharge the physician to practise *rope-dancing*.” History of Edinburgh, page 128.

“The foresaid bath-stove will contain twelve or fifteen persons, which will be bathed in half an hour’s time after they enter the bathe: Likewise if they repair, as they do to bathes in other countreyes, this bathe is able to give content to fourscore persons a day.

“The diseases that are commonly cured by the said bathe, are these: The hydropsie, the gout, deafness, the itch, sore eyes, the cold, unsensibleness of the flesh, trembling axes, the Irish ague, cold defluxions inwardly, the melancholick disease, the colick, and all natural diseases that are curable, *probatum est*.

“THE DEGREES AND PRICES OF THE BATH-STOVE.

	L.	S	D:
The first degree, for preserving the health,	00.	12.	00.
The second degree, for giving or procuring health, - - - - -	00.	18.	00.
The third degree, for bringing out hidden diseases out of the bones and inward parts	01.	04.	00.
For bathing of maids and children -	00.	06.	00.
For every cupping glasse - - -	00.	04.	00.

“Ye shall have all the dayes of the week for men to bathe, except Friday, which is reserved for women and children. This bathe is to be used at all times and seasons, both summer and winter, and every person that comes to bathe, must bring clean linens with them, for their own use, especially clean shirts.

“This bathe-stove is to be found in Alexander

Hayes Close, over against the entry of Babylon,* betwixt the Tolbooth and the shore."

Certainly there was never any thing of the kind to compare with this. It out-quacks quackery itself, and leaves at an immeasurable distance all the bravadoes of all the professors of the healing art that ever existed. Nothing can exceed the gross yet amusing effrontery displayed throughout the whole, nor can any thing equal the delectable gravity with which the impostor graduates his catholicon. "The third degree, for bringing out hidden diseases out of the bones and inward parts," is undeniably a *chef d'œuvre* in its way, and altogether unrivalled in the annals of wonder-working anodynes. "Unsensibleness of the flesh," "trembling axes," the "melancholick disease," &c. are all excellent of their kinds, and well worthy of special notice. We cannot help imagining that we see the impudent scoundrel, Paul, himself, standing at the mouth of "Hayes close, over against the entry of Babylon," drawing in the cash from his credulous customers, and all the while rattling over, with the true quackish volubility of tongue, the catalogue of the virtues of his "bathe-stove," which, ignorant as the times were, and deplorable as the state of the medical science was, he must have known, what a week's

* Babylon was a huge pile of old buildings which stood at the foot of the Tolbooth Wynd, and obtained this name, as well from its singular appearance, as from the vast multitudes of tenants, of all nations, by which the tremendous edifice was occupied.

experience could not have failed to teach him; if it was unknown to him before, that the whole was a gross and bare-faced imposition.*

Notwithstanding the length of time during which Leith had occupied the first place amongst the sea-ports of Scotland, and notwithstanding the extensive shipping interest with which it was connected, it was not until the year 1710 that any active measures were taken to improve or add to the conveniences of its harbour. In the month of April of that year, however, the

* It grieves us to say, that even in this enlightened and intellectual age, aye, and in the very heart of the most enlightened and intellectual city on earth, quackeries are practised, and quack-bills exhibited, which would suffer little by a comparison with Paul's. We ourselves lately saw posted up in one of the most respectable districts of the city, a placard, wherein the advertiser announced, that he cured all incurable diseases, a hideous list of which, ingeniously and carefully selected, followed this modest intimation. Intermittent fevers, jaundice, cholera morbus, colds, &c. &c., though often enough fatal, yet being within the reach of ordinary skill, he scorned to meddle with. No; nothing for him but violent hemorrhages, hydrophobia, water in the head, rheumatisms, gout, asthma, cancers, consumptions in the last stage, &c. &c. These, and these only, were worthy of his attention. Nor was the mere curing of these diseases alone by any means the most wonderful result of his skill. Not at all; it was the ease and expedition with which these cures were effected. A few rubs with a certain ointment, made by himself, banished rheumatism, and gouts, and all other affections in the bones and joints, for ever; a single tea-spoonful of a certain elixir, also prepared by himself, taken on going to bed, removed all symptoms of hydrophobia before the morning, although the patient had lain down; or rather had been tied down, as rabid as a bull dog bitten in the month of June. Under his care a cancer was a mere flea-bite, and the cure of a consumption but the work of a day.

Edinburghers presented a petition and memorial to Queen Anne, praying that her Majesty would be pleased to give the necessary directions for establishing at Leith, "the port," as that memorial sets forth, "of her ancient and loyal city of Edinburgh, a wet and a dry dock, for the conveniency of building, fitting, repairing, &c. her Majesty's ships of war and trading vessels, which would," continue the memorialists, "greatly conduce to the interests of trade in general." This petition was read in the Queen's presence, who referred it to her privy council for their consideration. Here, however, the matter was altogether overlooked, until the Edinburghers, finding their supplication neglected, transmitted another, to the same effect with the first. In consequence of this second petition, Earl Pembroke, Lord High Admiral, directed several commissioners of the navy, and some officers of the docks, to survey the Frith of Forth on both sides. The report of these gentlemen was so particularly favourable to Leith, that the projected improvements were ordered to be immediately begun, and, in consequence, these docks * on the north side of the river, and above the lowermost draw-bridge, were formed.

* Until lately these ancient docks were wholly deserted, and fast falling into decay, an object which, in despite of the total absence of any thing like sentimentality in its character, is calculated to excite some feelings of melancholy interest. They are now, however, resuscitated, and within their lately desolate precincts may again be heard the cheerful sounds of the carpenters' mallets.

In the year 1715, as is well known, the adherents of the Stuarts rose in arms, with the vain hope of being able to accomplish, by force, the restoration of the dynasty of that ill-starred house. Early in this rebellion, Leith, as if no national calamity could happen without its being in some way or other connected with it, was visited by a party of the insurgents, headed by one of their most active and determined leaders, old Macintosh of Borlam, or, as he was more generally called, Brigadier Macintosh. About the beginning of October, this doughty old hero, who had just before, at the head of 500 men, erected King James's standard at Inverness, reached the north shore of the Forth, with a large body of his clansmen, opposite to Edinburgh, on his way to the borders. Undaunted by the appearance of several ships of war which were then lying in the Roads and filled with troops, he embarked his men, and made directly for the opposite shore. The boldness of the attempt secured the success it merited. Macintosh and his gallant band, with the exception of one boat, containing about 40 men, reached the shore in safety. These, however, were taken by one of the King's ships, carried prisoners into Leith, and thrown into the Tolbooth. Borlam, without taking any notice of a misfortune which he was at that moment unable to remedy, proceeded very coolly on his march until he reached Haddington, where he suddenly wheeled about and retraced his steps to Edinburgh, to the great terror and alarm of the citizens, who immediately flew to arms to op-

pose the tremendous Brigadier and his little band. The approach of fifty thousand cannibals could not have discomposed the heroic Edinburghers more, than did this counter-march of old Macintosh. The volunteers were called to arms; the whole pugnacious strength of the town, consisting of cohorts from the Canongate, and hogs in armour from St Mary's Wynd, were summoned forth to battle. All was bustle and confusion, and terror and dismay. In the meantime the enemy approached; but instead of attacking the beloved city, Macintosh held on his way to Leith, where, it will be found, he had some little business to transact, not, however, we may presume, without giving Auld Reekie a surly glance and a growl as he passed it. On the 14th of October, the Brigadier entered Leith at the head of his men, and, without halting or looking to the right or left, proceeded straight to the jail, the doors of which they immediately burst open, and set their countrymen at liberty. This signal act of retribution was, it is probable, the only object which the Highlanders had at first in view; but thinking, no doubt, that it would be as well, as they were there at any rate, to look around them and see if a little profitable business could not be done, they remained in the town, and spent the afternoon agreeably enough in ransacking the customhouse, where they found a most comfortable supply of provisions of various kinds, and a considerable quantity of brandy. Finding matters turning out well, and that Leith, upon the whole,

was pretty fair quarters, they came to the resolution of sojourning in it for some time, or, at least, until they should have consumed all the good things they had fallen in with. With this view, after clearing the customhouse, they took possession of the Citadel, and thereafter boarded some vessels in the harbour, from which they carried off several pieces of ordnance ;— these they planted on the ramparts, and at the ports of the garrison. This done, they barricadoed the most accessible places with beams, carts filled with stones, earth, and other materials. These precautionary measures being completed, they now hoped to be allowed to sit down in peace, to enjoy the fruits of their industry. This happiness, however, was not vouchsafed them ; for on the day following the attack on the customhouse, Argyle, with 300 cavalry, 200 infantry, and about 600 militia, marched from Edinburgh against the Citadel. Having posted the dragoons on the north-east side of the fort, and the foot upon the south-east, Argyle, with the Generals Evans and Wightman, and Colonel De-burgy, went down to the sands, between the fort and the sea, for the purpose of ascertaining in what particular place it might be assailed with the best chance of success. His Grace having summoned the rebels to lay down their arms and surrender, on pain of high treason, declared, that if they obliged him to storm the garrison, he would give no quarter. To this threat a Highland laird, called Kinackin, gallantly replied, “ that as to sur-

rendering, they did not understand the word ; and with regard to quarter," continued the brave Highlander, " we will neither take nor give it. As to carrying the place by force, if you think you are able, why try your hand." The Duke, however, finding, from the inspection he had made, that the fort was too strong, and the walls too high, to leave any hope of success from an assault, being altogether unprovided with the necessary means for such an attempt, returned to Edinburgh, for the purpose of providing scaling-ladders and artillery. Old Macintosh seeing no appearance of aid from the friends of his party in Edinburgh, and learning that Argyle intended to return next day with a stronger force, and better provided with all things necessary for storming the place, evacuated the Citadel at nine o'clock at night. Taking advantage of its being low water, he marched his men alongst the sands, and past the end of the pier, continuing his course eastward, until he arrived at Seatoun House, belonging to the Earl of Wintoun. He had been obliged, however, to leave thirty or forty of his men behind in the Citadel, these being unable, from having formed too close an intimacy with the customhouse brandy, to march with their companions. We have not learnt that the Highlanders, on this occasion, committed any other depredation than that already mentioned, the plundering of the customhouse. It would appear, however, that after liberating their friends from the jail, they had ransacked the whole building, as the cartularies belonging to

the town, and preserved in the town's chambers, bear to this day manifest tokens of their wrath and indignation, several of these volumes being perforated, and their parchment covers slashed with the bayonets and swords of the enraged Macintoshes. Finding nothing in the prison worth appropriating, and having the unhandsome treatment of their comrades, who were taken crossing the Forth, before their eyes, they had thought proper thus to wreak their vengeance on the unoffending tomes, which they knocked about most mercilessly, and with the most ineffable contempt.

With the occurrence just related terminates the ancient history of Leith, in so far, at least, as it is involved with the transactions of the kingdom. After this period, although the port continued its march towards that eminence in commercial prosperity which it has now attained, it makes no figure in any of the national events which afterwards occurred. In the transactions of 1745, Leith took no share, further than furnishing its quota of men to assist the Edinburghers in defending, when a defence was contemplated, their city against the rebels. As no resistance, however, was made on this occasion, neither the one nor the other had an opportunity of displaying their prowess in arms. We shall therefore conclude this department of the work, with the relation of a few miscellaneous circumstances appertaining to our subject, and which we deem not unworthy of notice. Some of these will appear in regular chronological se-

quence : others refer to periods already passed in our narrative, the course of which, however, we did not choose to interrupt by their introduction, thinking it better to throw them together at a proper time, in the desultory manner following.

LEITH RACES.

FROM their long standing, and the extreme joyousness of spirit with which they were wont to be accompanied, the races had formed so prominent a characteristic of the place where they were held, that its very name was inseparably associated, even in the minds of those who had never been there, with these interesting sports. This feeling, from the removal of the races to Musselburgh, is now fast subsiding. The *Honest Town*, however, has not yet gained, nor perhaps ever will gain, in this respect, what Leith has lost ; for although these sports have now been held there for ten years, the same joyous and kindly association of the place with its amusements has not yet been formed ; and Musselburgh is still looked upon and thought of as coldly, and with as little interest, as before its acquisition of the races.

Leith races seem to have been first established at the Restoration, and was a part of the joyous pastimes, by which the people of Scotland, as well as of England, testified their loyal satisfaction in that event.

Such was then the excessive devotion to sports, that the races were held every Saturday. "Our accustomed recreations on the Sands of Leith," says Mercurius Caledonius (a curious little newspaper then published in Edinburgh), "were much hindered to-day (Saturday, March 2d, 1661), by reason of a furious storm of wind, accompanied with a thick snow; yet we have had some noble gamesters, that were so constant at their sport as would not forbear a designed horse-match. It was a providence the wind was from the sea, otherwise they had run a hazard either of drowning, or splitting upon Inchkeith. This tempest was nothing inferior to that which was lately in Caithness, where a bark of fifty tons was blown five furlongs into the land, and would have gone further if it had not been arrested by the steepness of a large promontory."

In the same chronicle we observe, that the races were honoured by the presence of a Waywood of Polonia, who had come mounted on a Sartanan horse, "to congratulate our happy Restauration." There were also races at Cupar, and at Lanark. Those at the latter place are said by Mercurius to have been of six hundred years' standing previous to the commencement of the civil war, when they had been discontinued, a proof, if true, but which by the way we much doubt, of the antiquity of horse-racing in Scotland. The Cupar races are most particularly described, as well as the voyage thither of his highness the Waywood, which of itself occupies a whole

newspaper, having the appropriate motto of "He that will to Couper will to Couper."

Leith races were removed to the links of Musselburgh in the year 1816, these being considered—as they certainly are, with the necessary improvements which have been made—better adapted for that amusement than the heavy wet sands of Leith, which had nothing but their flatness and extent to recommend them, and where, from the nature of the ground, strength was as necessary in the contest as speed. From this circumstance, it must have frequently happened, in direct opposition to the first principle of horse-racing, that the strongest and not the swiftest animal bore away the palm. Short as the time is since the removal of the races to Musselburgh, the excitation which they once created, and the scenes of joyous revelry to which they gave rise, have now not only passed away, but are nearly altogether forgotten; and in a very few years more, Leith races will be but the subject of a traditionary tale. In order, so far as our humble exertions will have the effect, to keep alive the remembrance of that ancient and in some degree national festival, we shall throw together a few of its leading characteristics, and endeavour to give some idea of what Leith races once were. Before proceeding to this task, we may notice the broad and melancholy fact, that the Musselburgh races are utterly and wholly destitute of any portion of that reckless and through-going spirit of hilarity, which never failed to attend those of Leith. The

former, excepting in the mere business of the day—the running of the horses—are the coldest and most heartless things imaginable; and even what they have gained in elegance and refinement, but indifferently supplies the place of that obstreperous interest, which the rough and round skelping on the plashy sands of Leith was wont to excite.

On the approach of the races, which generally took place in the last week of July, or the beginning of August, a great many fashionable families, who resided throughout the year at a distance from the capital, as well as those who had left it merely to spend the summer months in the country, flocked into the town. This influx of wealthy and idle people kept the city, during the whole of the race week, in a state of feverish excitation, and converted it into one continued scene of gaiety and dissipation. Pleasure and amusement seemed, as they really were, the only objects in view of the numerous and formidable parties of fashionably dressed people, who were to be seen, before and after the races of each day, joyously sweeping along the most public streets of the city. These, again, were contrasted with another class not less happy, but infinitely worse attired, the mechanics and others, the humbler natives of Auld Reekie, who in mirthful squads kept filing alongst Leith Walk. To these we must add a third genus, which occupied a fully more prominent place than either in the heart-stirring scene, the boys of Edinburgh.

At the scene of action, the first symptoms of the approaching carnival were exhibited in the erecting of tents upon the sands. This generally took place on a Saturday, the races beginning on the Monday following. This encampment of suttlers extended in one long and varied line from the pier eastwards, an order of battle which they were compelled to adopt, from the circumstance of their being, like the ancient Britons, driven into the sea, not by barbarians, but by houses and stone walls. The sea again driving them back on the latter, they were necessitated to compound the matter, and accordingly, as we have mentioned, pursued a middle course. The erecting of the tents, being the prologue to the sports and revelry of the ensuing week, was hailed with rapture by hundreds of attending boys from Edinburgh and the neighbourhood, who had resorted thither to witness these unequivocal preparations, and to indulge on the spot in the joyous anticipations which the presence of such active operations were calculated to create. The races being regulated by the state of the tides, frequently compelled an earlier attendance on the ground than was altogether consistent with the general ideas of comfort, a circumstance which bore particularly hard on those jovial wights who had gone to bed the night previous infinitely more happy than sober. It was, however, yet more annoying to your three-bottle men, who had but a few hours before resigned themselves to repose, in a state of *glorification* which the short time they were allowed to rest could not possibly dis-

pel. Thus, many were the ill-shaven, or not-shaven-at-all, and dirty-booted gentlemen, who were to be seen slowly and drowsily moving amongst the Leith Walk, and making the best of their way to the race-ground.

As the Leith races were under the patronage of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, it was usual for one of the city officers* to walk in procession every morning during the week, from the Council Chamber down to Leith, bearing aloft a silk-purse, gaily and profusely decorated with ribbons, styled the city purse, on the end of a pole, accompanied by the town-guard drummer, who, being stationed in the rear of this dignitary, continued beating a tattoo at his heels all the way to the race-ground. This identical, and, we may also add, this eternal tattoo, for it had neither beginning, middle, nor end, we are proud to have it in our power to lay before our readers, who, we trust, will give us every credit for having preserved, and we did preserve it with a religious veneration, this precious relic of the departed revelries of Leith Races. The peculiar and plaintive melody of this *ranx des vaches* of the old city-guard, will, we doubt not, be at once recognised by many of our readers.

City Drum Solo.



* The dignity and importance which the portly person and majestic mien of Mr Campbell gave to this part of his official duty, will not soon be forgotten.

The procession, which at the outset consisted only of the officer and the drummer, and sometimes a file or two of the town-guard, better known by the familiar appellation of the "*toun rats*," gathered strength as it moved along the line of march, from a constant accession of boys, who were every morning on the look-out for this "*corps diplomatique*," and who preferred, according to their own phrase, "*gaun down wi' the purse*," to any other way. Such a dense mass of these finally surrounded the officer and his attendant drummer, that, long before the procession reached Leith, both had wholly disappeared. Nothing of the former remained visible but the purse, and the top of the pole on which it was borne. These, however, projecting above the flood of urchins with which he was inundated, still pointed out the spot where he had, as it were, sunk, and where of course he might be found. Of the drummer, no vestige remained; but he was known to exist by the faint and intermittent sounds of his drum, to which, as often as he could, he continued to give the other tap, to intimate that he was still, as far at least as circumstances would permit, in the discharge of his duty. The town-guard also came in for a share of the honours and the business of this festive week. These were marched down to Leith every day in full costume. Having arrived upon the sands, the greater part, along with the drummer, took their station at the starting-post, while the remainder surrounded the weights. The march of these veterans to Leith is thus humorously described by Ferguson:

“ Come, hafe a care, (the captain cries),
On guns your bagnets thraw ;
Now mind your manual exercise,
And marsh down raw by raw.
And as they march, he'll glour about,
Tent a' ther cuts an' scars ;
'Mang these full many a gausy snout
Has gusht in birth-day wars,
Wi' blude that day.”

From their near vicinity to Edinburgh, the races, when held at Leith, were attended by at least double the number of pedestrians that resort to those at Musselburgh, a circumstance which, amongst with others, gave the former a vast superiority, in point of interest, over the latter. The most amusing periods of the day were immediately on the conclusion of the *heats*, when the dense multitude, which had been but a moment before locked up, as it were, in a feeling of intense anxiety for the result of the contest between the racers, were, by the termination of the heat, suddenly thrown loose, and at large. The cord which bound the mass being severed, it instantly crumbled into a thousand individual atoms. These, from having formed before a compact and solid wall, extending alongst the beach and the line of the race-course, now spread like a deluge over the sands, and a scene of happy confusion and joyous anarchy ensued, which certainly was neither uninteresting nor incapable of affording amusement to those who could condescend to be pleased by humble means, and who could themselves be made

happy by witnessing the happiness of others. The shoal of human beings now moving slowly over the sands, and in the opposite direction to the race-course (on which they had turned their backs the moment the *heat* was concluded), or, in other words, advancing amongst their whole line, to the higher part of the beach, seemed, from this general and prevailing movement, to have some particular object in view ; and from this it also appeared, that attractions of some kind lay in the direction they were taking ;—and it was so. These were the tents, which, as we have already mentioned, extended in one endless and varied line alongst the shore. From these now issued forth a thousand distinct streamlets, consisting of show-men, roley-poley-men, recruiting sergeants, wheel-of-fortune-men, and innumerable other professors of nameless professions, who, having come to the races in pursuit of gain, and not of pleasure, were in the practice of diving into the tents the moment the horses prepared to start, knowing, as they well did, that nothing in the way of business could be done whilst the races were going forward, their customers being wholly engrossed by the proceedings on the course, a matter in which they themselves took but little interest. These, however, as we have said, on perceiving the commotion amongst the multitude, which indicated that the heat was over, and for which they had been keeping a sharp look-out, now gushed forth from each tent in a thousand rills, and intermingled with the huge flood of humanity, which was about to burst

upon and to fill the temporary refectories they had just evacuated. The moment they issued out of the tents, and, indeed, in their anxiety to do business, frequently before they had crossed the threshold, they began to shout their various slogans, or war-whoops, in an endless variety of tone, each adapted, at least by long association, to the commodities offered to sale. Thus, as instances, we may say, there was the ginger-bread whoop, the roley-poley whoop, and, on the same principles of classification, the slogan of the wheel-of-fortune men. In the midst of these discordant and deafening sounds, the monotonous cry of those who sold the "lists" audibly predominated, like the principal tune running through the bass. The burden of their song ran thus:—"Here you will have a list of all the names of the riders, noblemen and gentlemen, and riders' liveries, that shall ride over the sands of Leith this day, for his Majesty's purse of a hundred guineas." The prizes to be contended for during the week were appropriated in the following manner: Monday, the city purse, £50; Tuesday, the king's purse, £105; Wednesday, the hunters', £50; Thursday, the ladies', £50; Friday, the member for the city's purse, £50; and Saturday, the "subscription" for the beaten horses, who on this day contended for the humble and negative merit of not being the worst that had appeared on the race-course during the week. Otherwise, however, Saturday was by far the most joyous and outrageous day of the week. From long use and

wont, the great body of the lower classes conceived that the entertainments of this day were in a special manner devoted to their amusement. The consequence was, that they flocked to the scene of revelry in prodigious multitudes, and from all quarters, until at length such a huge and motley assemblage was formed, as certainly few occasions have presented. None but those who have witnessed the glories of Bartholomew or Donnybrook fairs, or have sojourned in Venice during the carnival, or, lastly, have seen the thing itself, the last day of Leith races, can form any thing like an adequate idea of the lively and varied scene presented by this concentration of all that is mirthful and joyous. During the earlier part of the day, matters generally went on smoothly enough. Towards evening, however, the occurrence of partial combats indicated that the right spirit was getting abroad, and the hopes of the pugnacious waxed higher. These in time became more frequent, and the number of combatants in each more numerous, until at length the whole extent of the sands became one scene of reckless anarchy and fell encounter. The mobility, however, finally tiring of this species of civil war, began to turn their attention to the tents and scaffolding, the former of which were now nearly wholly deserted, excepting, perhaps, that in one or two of them, a solitary wight might still be found, who, overcome with whisky and fatigue, had been unable to evacuate the premises—his venerable head reclined upon a table, and himself wrapt in a blessed forgetfulness of the

evils of this wicked life in general, and of Leith races in particular; one melancholy candle, with its broad red flame flung streaming behind it like a pendant, by the incessant gusts of wind which came rushing in at the gaping entrance of the tent, illuminating its now desolate and cheerless interior, presenting, in a sort of deep *chiara-scuro*, the indistinct, indefinite, and equivocal looking objects within.

One desperate, irresistible, and nearly simultaneous attack being now made on the tents and scaffolding, in a very few minutes the whole range, from end to end, was laid prostrate in the dust. Not a rag, not a bare pole remained to point out where the city of blankets and of canvass once so proudly stood; nor was any thing to be heard but the tremendous sounds of crashing boards, intermingled with the yells of the assailants and the assailed. Ruin stalked amongst the perishing tents, and the thundering voice of destruction roared exultingly over the wide desolation. To descend from the sublime, however: By the activity of the mob, the display on the sands of Leith towards evening suddenly and wholly changed its character and appearance, an effect which was principally produced by the demolition of the tents, the most striking feature of the whole. From being the scene of rough but harmless jollity, the race-ground now became one wide field of indiscriminate assault and battery. At length the night waxed late; the combatants became fatigued; the furor of war subsided; and the sands were at last, and by degrees, left whol-

ly desolate—a situation of matters which strangely contrasted with the tumultuous revelry which they had exhibited during the day. For many days, however, after this tremendous *finale* of the race-week, the beach continued strewed with the wreck and fragments of the demolished tents, and the other temporary erections of the occasion. The dropping of the curtain on the race-ground, however, by no means terminated the glories of the day. Leith-walk came in for a large share of the Donnybrookism which was going forward, exhibiting alongst its whole length one continued, promiscuous, and furious *melée*. Some fought it out bravely on the spot; others maintained a sort of running-fight, commencing at the foot of the walk, and terminating in the police-office, or town guard-house, where those advancing in a hostile attitude were generally landed, being politely received at the head of the walk by the town-guard, with a posse of constables and police-officers, who were in attendance for the special purpose of ushering into the city those who approached in such a manner as to warrant this act of civility.

We shall now take the liberty of laying before our readers a copy of the rules or articles of the races, as they were conducted about the year 1680, not many years after their first institution. The original from which the following is taken, is printed upon a coarse half-sheet like the modern “lists,” and was probably then hawked about the race-ground as those now are. From the blanks left, where the year, the

day, and the hour should have been named, it would appear that the printer had thrown off at one time a quantity sufficient to serve for several years.

Rules or Articles for the Horse-race at Leith, erected and established by the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Bailies, and Council of Edinburgh.

I. Imprimis, there is a large silver piece of plate this year to be run for, about the stoups of Leith, of the value of twenty-five pounds sterling, and the rules and conditions of the said race is twice about the whole stoups, and thereafter out and in.

II. Item, the Dyet of the race is to be upon the day of next, in this year 168 , at hours in the forenoon.

III. Item, every horse that is to run, is to be kepted at Leith fourteen-days space before the said dyet, and at their entry, are to be booked in the clerk's chamber of Leith, and for each horse so booked, the clerk is to have half-a-dollar. Item, each horse that runs for the said piece of plate, is to carry eight stone weight, and the winner to have one pound weight of allowance ; and if there be one ounce more, the second horse is permitted to challenge the plate, and so forth successively to the last horse.

IV. Item, each horse that runs is to put in twenty shillings sterling, and the second horse is to have the stake.

V. Item, each horse that runs, is to be led out to the starting stoup one hour's space before low water.

VI. Item, each horse that shall happen to ride without the stoups, is obliged to round the stoup again, otherwise he gains nothing.

VII. Item, none of the spectators may presume to ride without the stoups, but are to keep themselves within the same, observing the distance of six-score feet from the horses that are running, under the pain of ten shillings sterling, to be incurred by, and exacted from each contraveener, *toties quoties*, the judges only excepted.

And it is hereby declared, that all the horses that run shall, at the first ruffle of the drum, attend at the first stoup;* and at the second ruffle of the drum, that all the riders shall mount; and at the third ruffle, that all be in readiness to go off; certifying all that shall not attend at the said three ruffles, shall lose the benefit of the prize that is to be run for.

And, lastly, it is hereby declared, that the prize may not be challenged by any single person whatsoever, except there be two other horses (at least) offering and actually contending with him in the course for the same, and in that case, to be at the Lord Provost's determination.

Edinburgh: Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the King's most sacred Majesty, City and College. Anno Dom. 168 .

* One venerable and conspicuous relic of the "Leith races" still exists in the shape of a tall and sad-looking pole, which stands several yards within the sea-mark, and a little way east of the foot of Constitution Street. This, in the days of yore, was the "distance-post." No man who has a grain of sympathy within him can look upon this naked and desolate memorial of the times that have been, without some melancholy feelings.

BIRREL'S DIARY.

In an old book, entitled Birrel's Diary, written by a worthy burges of Edinburgh of that name, and who flourished about the latter end of the sixteenth century, are to be found, briefly recorded, a number of occurrences which took place at the period in which he lived. There is nothing, however, more remarkable in the honest citizen's journal, than the perfect equanimity with which he records every circumstance, without any regard to its importance or frivolity. The same parsimonious brevity and imperturbable *non-chalance* announces the dethronement of a king and a sudden rise on the price of meal. All events seemed to him of equal moment, and are consequently treated with equal dignity and respect. In this heterogeneous mass of memorabilia, we find the following:

“1567. On the 21st of this month (March), the castell of Edinburgh was randed to Cockburne of Stirling, at ye Queen's command. This same day their raise ane vehement tempest of vunde, which blew a verey grate shipe out of the road of Leith, and sick like blew the taile from the cocke which stands on ye tape of ye steiple away from it.”

An extraordinary importation of grain into Leith is thus also recorded:

“1596. Betwixt the first July and the sixth August, sixty-six shippis arrived in Leith haven, wi' victuall.” A speculation which, unless the importers found a very ready sale, would, we fear, turn out but

indifferently, for, in the "zeir of God 1597, there was sic incress of sawing, that the lyke had not been heard of, for ane man of Libberton, called Douglass, had, of ten pecks of beer sawing, thirty-ane threaves, and every threave had ane boll of beer, and ane peck."

To these extracts from Birrel's Diary, we take the liberty of adding the following account of a marvellous fish, which was captured at Leith in the year 1748. This account, which is taken from the Scots Magazine of that year, we have thought sufficiently amusing to deserve a place amongst these miscellanea.—
"A very beautiful fish, weighing eighty-two pounds, was lately taken near Leith; the body in shape something like the sea-bream, but larger, being three feet seven inches long, and three feet ten inches round in the thickest part. The mouth is small, without teeth; the eyes are covered with a membrane remarkably large, and glare like gold; the covers of the gills like those of a salmon; the body diminishes very small towards the tail, which is forked, and expands twelve inches. It has one erect fin on the back eight inches long, which terminates gradually backwards. Near the gills on each side is a broad fin nine inches long, which plays horizontally, and under the belly is a pair of strong fins eleven inches long. The skin smooth, the back purple colour, the sides a lively green, and the belly and jowls like silver; and being all over speckled with white, and the fins as red as scarlet, renders it very agreeable to behold. When opened, all its bowels would have gone within an English quart. The flesh of the fore part was firm,

and *looked like beef*, and the hinder part *like fine veal !!!* The bones are of the quadruped kind, particularly the shoulder-blades, which are like those of *a sheep !!!* Several curious gentlemen and others who have seen it, declare they never saw the like before, and are at a loss to know what name to give it." And, truly, we do not marvel that the honest gentlemen were puzzled; for such another fish never was, nor, we believe, ever will be seen again. Beef, purple, mutton, silver, gold, and veal, are here blended in a manner which we can never hope to see exemplified in any single individual of the finny tribe. Nothing in this way is now to be seen in Leith more marvellous than a skate or Denovan's live cod.

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE SEA.

There is not perhaps a more remarkable feature in the *locale* of Leith, than the encroachment which the sea has made, and is daily making, upon the land between the town and Newhaven. This, however, does not proceed from any increase of waters, but from the violent action of the sea in tempestuous weather beating upon the bank, which, being wholly composed of loose earth and sand, readily yields to its force. Thus, being worn away, and in time reduced below the level of the sea, the latter naturally occupies its place. The waters of the Forth, as well as those of the neighbouring seas, instead of increasing, are now, and have been for ages, receding. Amongst

the many well-known evidences of this fact, we may notice the circumstance of the large tracts of land about Grangemouth, which have been deserted by the sea, and others which it now occupies so unwillingly and reluctantly, that a very slight barrier would suffice to exclude it altogether, and such a project, we believe, is in contemplation.

That the encroachments of the sea on the land between Newhaven and Leith proceeds from the operation we have mentioned, and not from any increase of the waters of the Forth, is placed beyond all manner of doubt, by the fact, that within the memory of man, the sea has actually retired several hundred yards on the south side of the town. About the middle of the last century, the tide flowed up as far as the ground whereon Mitchell Street is now formed, and, at a more remote period, the whole of that space between Bernard Street and the beach was under water. It is therefore absurd to suppose that the sea should be at the same time receding in one place, and advancing at another not above half-a-mile distant. It is not our province, nor are we equal to the task, of entering into the wide but interesting field of geological inquiry ; but we may state, that we do think a great process of alluvion is now, and has been for ages, going on in this quarter of the globe ; and we have no hesitation in saying, that it is more than probable, that the sea at one time roared around the base of Arthur's Seat, and dashed against the face of Salisbury Crags. The Links of

Leith we conceive to be a palpable instance of this gradual recession of the waters of the ocean,* these bearing indubitable marks of having once been under its dominion.

To revert, however, to the circumstance with which we opened this subject. The contrary but partial operation of the sea, between Leith and Newhaven, has been so unremitting and successful in the mischievous work of purloining the *terra firma* in its neighbourhood, that in the space of 231 years, it has completely annihilated an extensive domain which lay between the two places, and which, in the year 1595, was let at the yearly rent of six merks, Scots money, being a fifth part of the sum, (thirty merks) for which the Links of South Leith, then sometimes called the Concy Warren, from their being inhabited by vast numbers of rabbits, were let during the same year. The former, therefore, judging from this circum-

* Although not by any means an uncommon occurrence, we may mention, that lately, whilst forming the new road between the foot of Leith Walk and the new bridge on the water of Leith, vast quantities of marine shells were dug up from a depth of at least fifteen feet. These, it is somewhat remarkable, were found in the greatest abundance where the excavation, which was making for a common sewer, intersected a bank or rising ground close by the bridge alluded to, few or none being found in the hollows through which the trench passed. The shells dug up on this occasion were as fresh and sound as if just taken from their native element. Indeed the whole interior of this excavation had something so marine in its character, that it appeared as if the ground had been left but by the ebbing of the tide, although many ages must have elapsed since it was overspread with the waters of the sea.

stance, is thought to have been somewhat about one-fifth of the dimensions of the latter, which consist of several hundred acres.

As the ravages of the sea seem to have been equally serious immediately above Newhaven, we conceive that a tract of ground in that quarter also has disappeared. If this be the case, the village must either have stood far up on the Links, at a distance from the sea, which is improbable, and unusual, for obvious reasons, in the cases of fishing villages; or, which we think much more likely, it must once have stood at the head of a small bay or indentation of the sea, which would necessarily be formed by the projection of the land on either side. This conjecture is strengthened by the name which it formerly bore, "Our Lady's Port of Grace;" nor is it weakened by that which it now bears, and has borne for at least three hundred years. Neither the words port nor haven could, we conceive, apply to any particular spot on an open coast, where there was neither any artificial or natural protection against the violence of the wind and sea. Admitting it to have been a small bay, both become strictly applicable.

We must not conclude these remarks without mentioning, that many coffins, or rather fragments of coffins, and human bones, have been washed out of the face of the bank between Newhaven and Leith. These were supposed to have been the remains of Cromwell's soldiers, who had died in the Citadel. We may further notice, that Newhaven gave the title

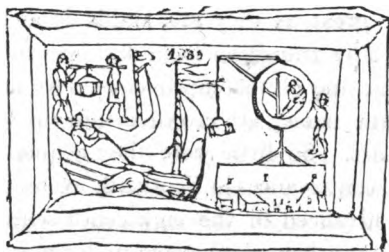
of Viscount, in the year 1681, to an English family of the name of Cheyne. This reciprocal honour, however, was of short duration, as the family became extinct in the year 1728.

LEITH CRANES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The acquisitions which this country has made in the knowledge of mechanics, as well as in the other more dignified but not more useful sciences,* have been, great as they are, suddenly and rapidly attained. The transition from darkness to light has been abrupt, and all the improvements we have made worthy of the name, are crowded into the last thirty or forty years. So little were they acquainted with mechanical contrivances in Scotland, even at a period pretty far advanced in the eighteenth century, that they were not ashamed to come under obligations to the superior ingenuity of a people, who never were by any means remarkable for their acquirements in mechanics. The constructiveness of that nation must have been small indeed, when it was yet less than that of the Dutch; albeit, in the year 1721, the Edinburghers imported from Holland, a crane for the use of the harbour of Leith. Whether this was the first engine of the kind which had ever been

* Amongst the premiums proposed by the Edinburgh Society, for the encouragement of arts, sciences, and manufactures, for the year 1756, we find the following: "To the gatherer of the greatest quantity of rags, Two Guineas!!!",

employed there, we are uncertain; but, after all, we rather incline to think, that, clumsy as in all likelihood it was, it was merely one on an improved principle. This we infer from the carving on an old stone, and which bears the date of 1678, placed above an archway, or *pend close*, on the south side of the Tolbooth Wynd, and about thirty yards from its junction with the Kirkgate. On this curious stone, of which the following figure is a pretty correct representation,



amongst a crowd of other objects, in *alto rilievo*, will be observed the representation of a crane; but such a machine it appears to be, that our surprise on finding it surpassed by Dutch ingenuity is certainly greatly lessened. Instead of the little serrated pinions or wheels which are now employed, and whose effects are so powerful, this crane seems to have been wrought by one huge and very broad wheel, into which one or more men being placed, they, by means of transverse bars, fastened at equal distances in the inside, gave it, with the weight of their bodies, and the action of both feet and hands, its ro-

tatory motion ; thus plying away like turnspit dogs, or like squirrels in a cylinder of wire, the business of the crane was done.

Twenty-seven years, however, after the importation of the Dutch crane, we find that there had been an amazing accession of mechanical skill, as appears from the following proud annunciation in the Scots Magazine for the year 1748 : “ On Thursday, the sixth of October, John Duncanson, a smith, belonging to Moyes’s manufactory at Leith, upon a wager, did wheel up from Leith to Edinburgh, within the Netherbow-port, the weight of five bolls of meal, being 40 Amsterdam stones, in one of the two-wheeled barrows made at that manufactory. This,” continues the astonished writer, “ is a prodigious improvement on wheel-carriages, and if so small a machine as a wheelbarrow with one man is capable of carrying such a weight, what may be expected from carts properly improved, drawn by two or more horses. Sure such improvements,”—here our author’s heart absolutely melts within him with gratitude to John,—“ deserve the greatest encouragement !” What the writer expected from improved carts, we cannot pretend to say ; but certainly, to judge from the way in which he exults over this contemptible feat of John Duncanson’s, he never dreamt that the day would come, when one horse might be seen drawing twenty or thirty tons, with much greater ease than John dragged his five bolls of meal to the Netherbow.

LEITH GLASS-HOUSES.

Although bottles were manufactured in Leith as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, we know nothing more of that establishment, than that their chopin bottles were sold at the enormous price, as it must then have been, of 4s. 6d. per dozen, and that this manufactory was situated near the Citadel, and, we conjecture, was first begun by some of the English settlers who had come to reside in Leith during the time of Cromwell. In 1707, bottles were made in a glass-house, which stood not far from Sime's dock, we conceive, to the northward of it, and probably, on that unoccupied ground lately enclosed, and fronting the present customhouse, near to which there then existed a small pier, or jettee, projecting into the river, called the glass-house quay. With this cone, a bottle-house company began business in the year 1746. This building, however, of which no traces now remain, was burnt down in the first year of the copartnership.

As, from the formation of modern glass-houses, it is utterly impossible that such a misfortune as this can ever happen them, we are at a loss to conceive how that which was consumed in North Leith was constructed, and see no other way of accounting for the calamity which befel it, than by supposing that the interior of the cone was filled with transverse spars of wood, like the inside of a bee hive, a conjecture which we think by no means improbable.

Afraid to trust to simple brick and mortar, in a structure so aerial, and of so alarming an appearance as the cone, they sought, we conceive, to make assurance doubly sure, by placing beams of wood athwart the threatening arch. In the year after (1747) the destruction of the house in North Leith, the company erected another in South Leith. This, more fortunate than its predecessors, still exists, and is the first of the range of glass-houses approaching them from the town. This venerable cone, now (1827) in its 80th year, may be readily distinguished from the smart modern taper structures in its neighbourhood, by the squat and clumsy rotundity of its figure. The whole, in short, are not unlike a family of strapping dandies in attendance upon their good old grandmother, whose stooping shoulders and dilapidated form bespeak a speedy dissolution. Between the year 1747 and 1783, two more glass-houses were built; and in the year 1790, a new company being formed, three new cones were added. There are now seven in all, exclusive of a small work, where crystal is manufactured and cut, but which has no connexion with the bottle and crown glass-works. These last are now the property of a joint stock company, formed at the time that that epidemic malady, well known by the name of the joint-stock fever, raged in Edinburgh, and throughout the whole kingdom. Unlike, however, some of the schemes generated by that distemper, this promises to be a lasting and profitable

undertaking, and is now going on, we believe, prosperously.

LEITH FIRST IMPROVED.

Although the Edinburghers have always taken care to reap all the advantages accruing from the port and harbour of Leith, and have at all times rigidly exacted every impost to which, as lords superiors, they could lay claim, yet it was not without much difficulty, and after many fruitless applications made from time to time, that they were prevailed upon to make any improvements on the town. So long as they got their shore-dues, and other emoluments, they felt perfectly regardless of the comfort and convenience of its inhabitants. The consequence of this mean and illiberal spirit was, that even so lately as the year 1770, the whole of the streets in Leith, excepting the Kirkgate, were in such a deplorable condition, that no one could pass through them after dark, but at the imminent hazard of breaking his legs, or his neck, or probably both, in consequence of the large and deep ruts with which they were ploughed up. An act, however, was at length passed, in the year 1771, for the improvement of the town, which was shortly after carried into effect.

Whilst on a subject which exhibits the contemptible parsimony of the Edinburghers, in all matters relating to Leith, we may mention, that the only in-

stance of any thing like generosity on their part towards the latter, occurred in the year 1774, when Leith, particularly North Leith, suffered severely from a violent storm. On this occasion, the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh ordered twenty guineas to be paid to the master of the Trinity House, for behoof of the sufferers at the Citadel, and other parts of North Leith.

MECHANICS IN LEITH.

Whatever other pretensions Leith may have, it certainly cannot boast of having ever been anyway famed, either for mechanical inventions, or for improvements on the contrivances of others, if we except Mr Thomas Morton's patent slip, and John Duncanson's wheelbarrow. This, however, we are convinced, does not proceed from any deficiency in the description of genius necessary to excel in the science of mechanics, but from the nature of the pursuits peculiar to a sea-port town, and which, for the most part, are inimical to the sedentary ingenuity, if we may be allowed the expression, of mechanical invention.* We are, however, happy in being enabled to add another exception to those already mentioned, as will appear by the following notice in an old periodical

* There has lately been formed in Leith, a Mechanics' Institution, an establishment from which, we have no doubt, in time, many good results will arise.

work, now, we believe, nearly extinct, called the Edinburgh Amusement. "March 26th, 1772: A new invention has lately been discovered at Leith, for working black silk lace, or white thread lace, on a loom, to imitate any pattern whatever; and the lace done in this way looks fully as well as if sewed, and comes much cheaper. It is done of any breadth, from three inches to three quarters of a yard wide. An improvement has also lately been made there on the manufacture of carpets, to imitate any figure that may be drawn or painted on paper. Many nobility and gentry visit the factory." This factory was the property of a Mr Brotherston, who was also the author of the improvements above mentioned. The work, we conceive—for we have no certainty of the matter—was carried on in that range of ancient buildings which forms the south side of Chapel Lane, these, it is well known, having once been a carpet-manufactory. Whether, however, it was that of Mr Brotherston, we are unable to say, but think it by no means improbable.

We must not part from the subject of the improvements and inventions in mechanics, connected with Leith, without recurring to a name which we have already more than once mentioned, but more lightly than it ought to have been. Mr Morton, however, will, we doubt not, readily excuse a little idle levity, when it is associated—as, we beg to assure him, it is in our case—with every respect for his ingenuity and his worth. We trust that a short account of that useful

invention—the patent slip—which has procured a celebrity to that gentleman's name which intimately connects it with the subject of this work, will not be deemed out of place here. The patent slip is a contrivance which supplies the place of dry docks in any situation, but more especially where it is found inexpedient or impracticable to construct the latter, either from the unfitness of the ground, or the want of a rise and fall of tide. This invention is simply an inclined plane, on which are iron railways. On these a carriage, sufficiently capacious to receive the vessel to be hauled up, and furnished with truck wheels, is placed, these wheels having flanges to guide them, and the carriage being provided with palls to fall into the rack of the inclined plane. The carriage being properly adjusted and prepared, is let down this plane generally at low water, but if found more expedient, it may be let down into the water, the weight of metal attached to it keeping it securely in its place, even in this last case, and at a sufficient depth to allow the vessel to float upon it. When the ship to be hauled up has been brought directly over the carriage, she is allowed to settle down upon the machine, which she does gradually as the water subsides. A strong iron purchase-chain being attached to the carriage, and which is connected with, and wrought by a wheel and pinion, capstan, or other mechanical power, at the upper end of the slip, the vessel is hauled up the inclined plane, to use a nautical phrase, high and dry.

at the rate of from two and a half to five feet per minute, by six men to every hundred tons.

The patent slip has been found to answer completely the purpose for which it was intended. As proof of this, it is now employed in nearly all the principal sea-ports in the United Kingdom, and we have no doubt that it will soon be introduced into all the maritime states in Europe. One of Mr Morton's slips has already been furnished to the French government, and another to the imperial Russian dock-yard at Nicolaëff.

In point of economy and despatch, besides its many other advantages, the patent slip is a most valuable acquisition. A very durable and substantial one can be constructed and laid down for about one-tenth of the expense of a dry dock, and in situations, too, as we have already said, where, from the nature of the ground, the latter could not be formed at any expense. In executing repairs on a vessel drawn up on the slip, the men are enabled, she being altogether above ground, to work with more ease and comfort, and, in consequence, more expeditiously, than when immured in a dry dock, where they are compelled to squeeze themselves in below the vessel to be repaired, to get at her bottom, on which they consequently work in the most painful and awkward positions. In the case of the slip, too, the workmen have longer and better light than they can possibly have at the bottom of a dry dock, which, in winter especially, is an important object; materials also for the repairs

can be brought to the workmen's hands with much greater facility and expedition.

In point of despatch, the advantage of the slip is not less remarkable. A ship may be hauled up, have her bottom inspected, and even get a trifling repair, and be launched the same tide; and the process of repairing one vessel (for, if sufficient length of slip can be obtained, it will accommodate several vessels at a time,) is never interrupted by the hauling up of another, an interruption which takes place in docks, from the necessity of letting in the water when another vessel is to be admitted. The expense both of hauling up and launching a vessel from 300 to 400 tons, does not exceed forty shillings.

SEAFORTH'S REGIMENT.

In the month of September, 1778, the Earl of Seaforth's regiment, which was then quartered in Edinburgh Castle, received orders to embark at Leith without being made acquainted with the place of their destination. From this circumstance, and from the reports which were in circulation on the subject, the men were led to believe that it was intended to send them to the East Indies; whither, having imbibed a violent prejudice against that quarter of the globe, they determined not to go, whatever might be the consequence. Accordingly, on the day appointed for marching, they became unruly and mu-

tinuous, but were, though with some difficulty, prevailed upon to march to Leith. Having arrived there, however, instead of proceeding to the ships waiting to receive them, they formed themselves upon the Links, and positively refused to embark, until the three following conditions were complied with: "That they should not be sent to the East Indies; that no other than Lord Seaforth should be their Colonel; and that the arrears due them by their officers should be immediately paid them." Thus thinking, that as it was a mutiny at any rate, and that all the danger which could accrue to them from that act had already been incurred, they might as well endeavour to obtain all the advantages, if any were to arise, which that opportunity afforded. They concluded, however, their stipulations by declaring, that when these were complied with, they were ready to embark to any quarter of the globe but the detested East. In the meantime, they themselves marched off and took possession of Arthur's Seat, where they determined to remain until security was given them, that their propositions should be acceded to. This it was thought prudent to grant them, and the matter was amicably arranged between the Highlanders and their officers. An affair somewhat similar to this, but attended with a very different result, occurred in Leith twenty-one years afterwards. On the 20th of April, 1799, a party of fifty Highlanders, recruited for the forty-second and seventy-first regiments, were marched to Leith to be embarked on board of transports; but

a report having reached the men, that it was intended to draught them into a Lowland corps, contrary to the understanding on which they had enlisted, they refused, after arriving in Leith, to go on board. Upon this, a party of two hundred of the South Fencibles, under the command of a major, three captains, and six subalterns, were ordered to Leith, to carry the mutineers prisoners to Edinburgh Castle, if they should still persist in refusing to embark. On the arrival of the Fencibles, they found the Highlanders, whose national feelings and prejudices had been roused by the conceived insult of incorporating them with a Lowland regiment, drawn up, with their backs to the walls of the houses,* and their bayonets fixed. The major having drawn up his men in such a manner as to prevent any of the Highlanders escaping, advanced towards them, attended by a serjeant, and stated to them, that he had received positive orders to make them all prisoners, if they did not instantly embark. He then proceeded to expostulate with them on the extreme folly of resistance, seeing that they were surrounded with four times their number. The major's reasoning, however, was entirely lost upon the contumacious Highlanders, who did not understand a word of English. The serjeant who attended the major, and who spoke the Gaelic language, now addressed them, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to submit, and to save an effusion of

* The scene of this tragedy was in front of the buildings between the Old Ship Tavern, and the house formerly called the Britannia Inn.

blood, which he assured them would inevitably be the consequence of further disobedience. This expostulation they perfectly understood; but, in place of being persuaded by it to return to their duty, they by signs intimated to the major to withdraw, otherwise they would instantly fire. The latter, finding the mutineers determined to carry matters to extremities, and that no reasoning had any effect upon them, resolved to try whether fear might not reduce them to obedience. Accordingly he ordered the division of his men on the right to present, and afterwards recover arms. This they did; but, in the meantime, a sergeant, perceiving one of the Highlanders attempting to escape, seized him by the collar. Whilst in the act of doing this, the unfortunate sergeant was twice run through the body by the comrades of the latter. This occurrence became the signal for a general slaughter. Dropping shots were immediately fired from both sides, by one of the first of which an officer of the Fencibles, Captain Mansfield, was killed on the spot. This unhappy circumstance having roused the utmost wrath of his men, they, with the whole body of Fencibles employed on this occasion, poured in volley upon volley on the misguided mutineers. The consequence was, that in a few minutes twelve of them were killed outright, and twenty more severely wounded. On the side of the Fencibles two only were killed, and but one wounded, a disparity which proceeded in a great measure from the want of ammunition amongst the Highlanders, a necessary with which they were almost wholly unprovided;

otherwise their opponents would not have come off so cheaply. On this occasion, a Leith porter was apprehended, accused of having incited the Highlanders to this act of mutiny, and of having procured them the small supply of ammunition which they had.

LEITH GOLFING.

Leith was scarcely more famous for its races than for its golf-playing, the great extent and the inequalities of the Links-ground being peculiarly well adapted for the practice of this healthful and ancient Scottish game. Like the former, however, the golf-playing on the Links of Leith has grievously degenerated from its pristine character. In the days of yore, it was conducted with a degree of frank and free hilarity which has long since ceased to animate the modern practice of this manly pastime. The solitary parties of players which may now occasionally be seen wandering over the Links, go through the business of the game with a coldness and heartlessness of manner which sufficiently announces that the true and ancient spirit of the sport is gone. They play as if it was an act of condescension to be pleased with so vulgar and simple a recreation, and stalk over the ground with a gravity which would be an acquisition to a funeral procession. No energy, and scarcely any interest, appears amongst the gentle and melancholy-looking sportsmen, who

resemble more a parcel of love-korn shepherds with crooks in their hands, than a band of jovial young fellows engaged in an active and exhilarating pastime. Matters were differently managed in the last century. Then, the greatest and wisest of the land were to be seen on the Links of Leith, mingling freely with the humblest mechanics in pursuit of their common and beloved amusement. All distinctions of rank were levelled by the joyous spirit of the game. Lords of Session and cobblers, knights baronets and tailors, might be seen earnestly contesting for the palm of superior dexterity, and vehemently, but good humouredly, discussing moot points of the game, as they arose in the course of play. There were, in particular, somewhat later than the middle of the last century, a batch of lively active old fellows, who made this good ancient pastime almost the sole business of their lives. Each of these veterans, according to Smollet, was turned of fourscore, and never went a night to bed without having under their belts the best part of a gallon of claret. Before the present golf-house was built, which was in the year 1768, the merry golf-players of Leith used to frequent the house of one Straiton, who then kept a tavern at the head of the Kirkgate, on the west side, and near to the junction of the new road with the foot of Leith Walk. Here they were wont to close the day with copious libations of pure and undulterated claret, brought, in shining pewter or silver tankards, fresh from the butt. Amongst the many

other gentlemen of rank who played golf on the Links of Leith about this period, and frequented Straiton's tavern, was Lord Rosslyn, whose picture, at full length, and tolerably well executed, adorns, with several more, the dining-room of the club in the present golf-house.

That the ancient game of golf bore once a much higher character than it does now, and that Leith Links have long been celebrated for its practice, is sufficiently evident, from the circumstance of the latter's having been frequently honoured with the presence of royalty, in pursuit of this once favourite sport. James II., Charles I., and his son James, Duke of York, have all successively played at golf on the Links of Leith, although the first of these royal personages, during the latter part of his reign, issued an edict against the practice of this game, as it was thought to interfere with the more important exercise of the bow. Many edicts to the same purpose were issued by succeeding monarchs. The unfortunate King Charles was so much attached to the game of golf, that he is said to have practised it at Newcastle during his confinement there; and it was, whilst engaged in this pastime on the Links of Leith, that that ill-fated monarch first got intelligence of the Irish rebellion in 1642. The evil tidings affected Charles so deeply, that he instantly left the ground, and proceeded next day to London.

It is a singular fact, that, notwithstanding the antiquity and popularity of this amusement in Scotland,

the golf-balls were all brought from abroad, principally, we believe, from Holland. This, such was the pecuniary poverty of Scotland, began to be considered in the time of James VI. a serious national expenditure, insomuch that that monarch, in order to encourage the manufacture of that article at home, and to save money to the country, granted a charter, dated 14th April, 1603, appointing one James Melville, and others, to the office of golf-ball makers, for the reasons mentioned, and thus expressed in that deed: "That there is no small quantitie of gold and silver transported zeirlye out of his hienes kingdom of Scotland, for bying of golf-ballis." The Edinburgh Golf Club was formed in the year 1744.

PAUL JONES.

In the year 1779, Leith was thrown into the utmost confusion and alarm, by the appearance of the noted Paul Jones. On the evening of the 16th September, several strange sail were descried standing up the Frith. These, it was soon known, as rumours had been for a day or two previously in circulation that the pirate was on the coast, were the ships of Paul Jones. To those on the shore and pier of Leith, the foremost of these vessels appeared just to get her bowsprit and gib beyond Inchkeith, she, as well as the others, being between that island and the Fife shore. At that moment the ship put about, being unable to make further way against an adverse tide and a vio-

lent storm of wind, which at that moment, and fortunately for Leith, suddenly arose. This storm, it is said, was raised by the Rev. Mr Sheriff of Kirkaldy, that gentleman, on the approach of Paul Jones, having hastened down to the beach, and there falling on his knees, supplicated the immediate interference of Providence. However this may be, the consequence was, that the enemy were fairly driven out of the Forth, to which they never returned. The good folks of Leith, however, did not for some days recover from their consternation, or get quit of their fears of a second visit from the dreaded pirate.

On the day following that on which Paul Jones appeared, the most active measures were taken to resist him. Amongst others, some old cannon, without carriages, which had lain for many years rusting in the Timber Bush, were dragged over to the Citadel, and there elevated on piles of stones and timber; and at the gable of the first house on the west side as you enter Newhaven from Leith, were planted two brass field-pieces, with a sergeant of artillery and several men to work the guns. As the pirate, however, did not return, these preparations for his reception were wholly thrown away. This occurrence, however, gave government the hint to erect the present battery. Before then Leith was totally defenceless. Paul, at an after-period of his life, declared to a gentleman from this country, who chanced sometime afterwards to meet with him, we believe in Amsterdam, that it was his intention to have battered

the town, and destroyed the shipping in the harbour of Leith, had he not been driven back by the violence of the wind.

Paul Jones was a man of middle stature, stern countenance, and swarthy complexion. This daring pirate was a subject of Great Britain, but entered into the service of Congress during the American war, in the course of which he distinguished himself so much by his bravery, that he obtained the command of a privateer of eighteen guns, manned with a hundred and forty men. After the pirate's departure from the Frith, he fell in with and engaged two of his Majesty's ships off Scarborough. These he defeated; but, though victorious, his ships were so shattered, that it was with difficulty he reached the Texel. After various adventures, he is said to have terminated his avaricious and wicked career, in poverty and oblivion, in the United States of America.

SHELLY COAT.

Before ignorance and bigotry were banished the land by education and the gradual progress of civilization, Leith possessed its full share of the superstition of the times, local as well as those entertained in common with the whole country. Amongst the most remarkable of the imaginary beings with whom the good folks of Leith had to deal, was Shelly-

coat,* a spirit of the waters, and so named, from his outward covering, or coat, being formed of shells. This sprite, however, had many favourite haunts throughout the country, and by no means confined his visits to Leith, as he frequented rivers and lakes, as well as the sea. One of these selected places of resort, was a large rock or stone, which lay on the site of the present wet docks, and immediately below the Citadel.

To run round this stone three times, repeating a certain rhyme, was considered in latter days by children—as it had, no doubt, previously been by full-grown gentlemen—an act of temerity which none who valued their lives would dare to perform. The “Shelly-coat-stane” was removed at the formation of the new docks, an insult which we have not heard the goblin proprietor has ever yet revenged.† This lenity is the more remarkable, that he was of a most mischievous disposition, and exceedingly tricky withal, as appears from the following story taken from the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. i. page 103: “Two men, in a very dark night, approaching the banks of Ettrick, heard a doleful voice from its waves repeatedly exclaim, ‘Lost! lost!’ They followed the

* Latterly this name has been transferred, and, probably, with no great impropriety, to sheriff’s officers.

† Unless it may be said that he had some hand in the late attempted dock job, and truly, we think it not improbable that he may have been the concealed instigator of that piece of wickedness. Shelly-coat, we suspect, after all, has got in amongst the city councillors.

sound, which seemed to be the voice of a drowning person, and to their infinite astonishment they found that it ascended the river. Still they continued, during a long and tempestuous night, to follow the cry of the malicious sprite; and, arriving before morning's dawn at the very sources of the river, the voice was now heard descending the opposite side of the mountain in which they arise. The fatigued and deluded travellers now relinquished the pursuit, and had no sooner done so, than they heard Shelly-coat applauding, in loud bursts of laughter, his successful roguery."

FAIRY BOY OF LEITH.

From the same source, (vol. ii. page 166,) we have the following account of the Fairy Boy of Leith, who acted as drummer to the elves who weekly held rendezvous in the Calton Hill. The circumstance is narrated by a Captain George Burton. "About fifteen years since, having business that detained me for some time at Leith, which is near Edinburgh in the kingdom of Scotland, I often met some of my acquaintance at a certain house there, where we used to drink a glass of wine for our refection. The woman which kept the house was of honest reputation among the neighbours, which made me give the more attention to what she told me one day about a fairy boy (as they called him), who lived about that town.

he had given me so strange an account of him, that I desired her I might see him the first opportunity, which she promised ; and not long after passing that way, she told me there was the fairy boy but a little before I came by, and, casting her eye into the street, said, Look you, sir, yonder he is at play with those other boys ; and designing him to me, I went, and by smooth words and a piece of money got him to come into the house with me, where, in the presence of divers people, I demanded of him several astrological questions, which he answered with great subtilty, and through all his discourse carried it with a cunning much above his years, which seemed not to exceed ten or eleven. He seemed to make a motion like drumming upon the table with his fingers, upon which I asked him whether he could beat a drum ? To which he replied, ‘ Yes, sir, as well as any man in Scotland, for every Thursday night I beat all points to a sort of people that used to meet under yonder hill ’ (pointing to the great hill between Edinburgh and Leith). How, boy ! quoth I : What company have you there ? There are, sir, (said he), a great company, both of men and women, and they are entertained with many sorts of music, besides my drum ; they have besides plenty of variety of meats and wine, and many times we are carried into France or Holland in a night, and return again, and whilst we are there, we enjoy all the pleasures the country doth afford.

“ I demanded of him how they got under that

hill? To which he replied, that there were a great pair of gates that opened to them, though they were invisible to others, and that within there were brave large rooms, as well accommodated as most in Scotland. I then asked him how I should know what he said to be true? Upon which he told me he would read my fortune, saying, I should have two wives, and that he saw the forms of them sitting on my shoulders; that both would be very handsome women. As he was thus speaking, a woman of the neighbourhood coming into the room, demanded of him, what her fortune should be? He told her that she had two bastards before she was married, which put her in such a rage, that she desired not to hear the rest. The woman of the house told me that all the people in Scotland could not keep him from the rendezvous on Thursday night, upon which, by promising him some more money, I got a promise of him to meet me at the same place, in the afternoon, the Thursday following, and so dismissed him at that time. The boy came again at the place and time appointed, and I had prevailed with some friends to continue with me (if possible) to prevent his moving that night. He was placed between us, and answered many questions, until about eleven of the clock he was got away unperceived of the company; but I suddenly missing him, hastened to the door and took hold of him, and so returned him into the same room. We all watched him, and on a sudden he was again got out of doors. I followed him close, and he made

a noise in the street, as if he had been set upon, but from that time I could never see him.

LUCKY CRUDEN'S POW.

To these marvellous tales of the olden times of Leith, we may, since we are in the way at any rate, add those of "Lucky Cruden's Pow," and the "Twelve o'Clock Coach." Mrs Janet Cruden, or Lucky Cruden, as she, in common with all good matronly women of a certain grade in society, were, in Scotland, usually called (a term, by the way, which is now falling rather into disuse), kept a small brewery, near the Green Tree, about the middle of the last century. Within a *bole*, or small niche, in the inside of one of her barns, stood, and had stood from time immemorial, a human skull. For what purpose it was kept there, nobody knew, but strange surmises on the subject had been long afloat in the neighbourhood. Whether, however, Lucky Cruden made any bad use of this relic of mortality, was never very clearly ascertained. It is certain, however, that all attempts to destroy Lucky's Pow, as the skull was called, were vain; for, although it had been again and again abstracted from its receptacle in the wall, by meddling and mischievous boys, aye, and to all appearance dashed into a thousand pieces, yet the very first person who had occasion to go afterwards into the barn, never failed to find the identical and well-

known pow grinning in its old stance, as sound and whole as if nothing had happened. This experiment had been a thousand times tried, and always with the same result.

TWELVE O'CLOCK COACH.

About the same period to which the pow belongs, flourished the Twelve o'Clock Coach. This circumstance is altogether wrapt in mystery, and is nearly as obscure as it is mysterious. All that we can learn regarding it is, that regularly at twelve o'clock every night, the inhabitants of the Tolbooth Wynd were wont to hear with terror the thundering wheels of a chariot driven violently through the street. From whence it came, or whither it went, was never known, but, horrible to relate, the driver, a tall gaunt figure, was headless, as were also his horses. So notorious had this terrible vision become, that the "Twelve o'Clock Coach" was as well known as the Leith Stage. In a dark and tempestuous night, the noise of this supernatural vehicle was particularly awful. Some obscure tradition there is, that the carriage was, on these occasions, occupied by a lady, but who she was, or for what purpose she took these unseasonable airings, is now, we regret to say, altogether unknown.

LAIRD OF CASH.

We consider this not an unfavourable opportunity for introducing some account of two remarkable cha-

racters who flourished at this era in Leith. The first of these was the Laird of Cash (a small property in Fifeshire), who lived in the Tolbooth Wynd. The Laird, who was of a good family, and in easy circumstances, laboured under a species of lunacy, not more singular for the very limited and partial control which it had over his faculties, than for its *outré* development. For sound reasoning and acute and judicious remark, few men were his superiors; and you might have conversed with him for a whole day, nay, for a week, not only without discovering that there was any thing wrong with his intellect, but in all probability would have left him, with the impression that he was a man of more than ordinary penetration and judgment. Had you chanced, however, to take a turn in the Links, early next morning, the melancholy fact of the Laird's derangement would have been exhibited to you in a most unequivocal manner. There and then you would have found your very intelligent acquaintance of the preceding day, stalking up and down, with all imaginable gravity, and, most astounding circumstance, as naked as the hour he was born, and without even the apology of a fig-leaf. This, in short, was the Laird's failing, who never went abroad but in this primitive condition, nay, so completely had he reversed the order of things, that he was in the habit of wearing a cloak in the house, (the only garment he ever wore), of which he always divested himself before sallying forth,

and again resumed when he returned. He was, however, perfectly aware that his ideas of decorum in this matter differed widely from received opinion and the practice of the world, in deference to which he never went abroad but in the morning, and that at a very early hour, as he might generally be seen returning from his walk by the time a few of the earliest mechanics were stirring to their work, and by these only was he ever seen. The Laird's route to and from his lodgings, which, we have already said, were in the Tolbooth Wynd, lay through Coatfield Lane, being the quietest and most retired way to the Links, whither he was in the habit of going, still in a state of perfect nudity, every morning. Not the least singular part of his conduct on these occasions, was the ablutions which he was in the habit of performing at what are called the Pipes. Here, on his return from his walk, he was frequently to be seen standing, or rather lying, under the discharge of the water-cock, for a great length of time, and until, as he imagined, he was thoroughly purified from all manner of uncleanness. This done, he got up and walked off with the utmost gravity and dignity towards his lodgings. The Laird was well stricken in years, but had once been a remarkably fine-looking man. Being of the largest stature, and of an erect carriage, with a long flowing beard, which had not been cut for many years, his appearance altogether was extremely majestic and patriarchal.

DAVID TYRIE.

A very different character, but not less remarkable than the former, was David Tyrie. About, or perhaps somewhat upwards of fifty years since, Tyrie, then a mere boy, began his career in the world by being apprenticed to a respectable grocer in Leith, whose son still carries on business there. David was a forward talkative active boy, of a sanguine temperament, and especially fond of indulging in hopes of future greatness, with which he constantly both annoyed and entertained his friends and acquaintances. When he had been two or three years in this employment, he happened one night to leave one of his master's cellar-doors open; for this act of negligence he was immediately dismissed his service. His friends being in but poor circumstances, David's situation was as hopeless and disheartening as can well be imagined. Even in this adversity, however, the wandering ragged boy continued, with unabated enthusiasm, to rear his lofty fabrics of prospective aggrandizement. Notwithstanding, however, of the high fortunes which awaited him, David was, in the meantime, glad to accept of the humble and somewhat equivocal situation of clerk to the press-gang establishment then in Leith. In this employment, David soon made himself extremely obnoxious to a certain class of the inhabitants of the town, by his officiousness in giving information to the gang where fit subjects were to be found.

This feeling became at length so general and so annoying, that the young man suddenly left his situation, and entered on board of a ship of war. Here he remained for two or three years; but not liking the service, he left his ship in London, and succeeded in getting into the employment, in an inferior capacity, of a wealthy merchant there.

The boy's activity and diligence soon attracted the notice, and gained him the favour of his employer, who, in course of time, promoted him from one step to another, and at length admitted him to a share in the concern. The good fortune which David had so long anticipated, seemed now to have arrived. Shortly after his elevation, he took a handsome house in one of the most fashionable districts in the city, furnished it suitably, and lived in a style of elegance, becoming a partner in one of the first firms in London. His enterprising and restless spirit soon led him to extend the business and connexions of his concern, particularly in his native town of Leith, where he entered into numerous and large transactions with the most eminent merchants there, by whom he was now considered a man of no small consequence in the commercial world. In these flourishing circumstances, David Tyrie, Esq. paid a visit to the place of his birth, on which occasion he gave a splendid entertainment to his mercantile friends in the town. Soon after his return to London, Mr Tyrie's father, either invited by his son, or induced by the reports of his prosperity, went up to see him, and was not a lit-

tle amazed to find him living in a style of magnificence altogether exceeding any thing he had been able to conceive. The shrewd old man, however, was not so dazzled with the splendour around him, as not to perceive that there was one very remarkable and unfavourable circumstance connected with his son's establishment; a circumstance which made a deep impression on him, and induced him to entertain strong doubts of the duration of his son's good fortune.

This remark of the old man's will be best given in the words with which, after his return to Leith, he answered an acquaintance who asked him what he thought of his son's prosperity? "I dinna ken, but I wish a' may gae on weel wi' Davie. I saw twa or three lowse-lookin queans gaun about the house, and whar they are, muckle thrift canna be." The suspicions of the father were but too soon verified; a very few years more, and the concern in which David Tyrie was a partner became bankrupt, and he was again thrown upon the world. During his prosperity, however, he had made friends, who were both able and willing to assist him. These succeeded in procuring him a situation in the Admiralty Office, with a salary of three or four hundred pounds per annum. At this period the war was raging between France and England, and the most active operations were going on in the naval department of our force. With these, however, was connected a most extraordinary circumstance. The government of the former coun-

try seemed, by the counter-measures which it adopted, to be regularly and accurately informed of the strength of our different ships, their numbers, condition, and destinations, and, in short, of every particular connected with them which to know could be useful to an enemy, and ruinous to ourselves. This singular circumstance strangely puzzled the British Cabinet, but particularly the Lords of the Admiralty. For a considerable time, both were perfectly at fault, being unable to conceive how or by what means the enemy got their information. At length it became to be suspected that there was treason in the matter, but where it lay, was not so easily discovered. The suspicion, however, once entertained, was not allowed to subside. From the nature of the crime in this instance, it was concluded that the mischief lurked somewhere in the Admiralty Office, and measures were accordingly taken to detect the guilty. The consequence was, that a correspondence with the French Government was detected, and David Tyrie traced out as the author. On this discovery being made, the unhappy man was instantly apprehended, brought to trial shortly afterwards for high treason, condemned to die the death of a traitor, and executed accordingly at Portsmouth, before he had completed his thirtieth year."

PRESENT STATE OF LEITH.

BEFORE proceeding to treat of matters exclusively connected with Leith, and its present circumstances, we must devote a few of these pages to the memorable occurrence of the year 1822, the landing of his Majesty George IV., an event which is associated with a thousand endearing recollections, and which is now interwoven with the best and proudest feelings of every Scotsman worthy of the name. Nor will the impressions which that event left upon us all cease with the generation by which it was witnessed. The sire will tell the son, with tears of honest pride glistening in his eyes, the glowing tale. He will transfuse into his youthful bosom the enthusiastic feeling of affection which he himself entertains for the person of our thrice-beloved king. Thus, centuries will pass away ere that feeling shall have ceased to exist, and George IV. will be fondly remembered in Scotland, when the hero of a hundred fields would have been long-forgotten. From the nature of this work, however, we cannot afford to give more of this memorable and gratifying event, than what strictly relates to Leith, and that we have taken from a work,

entitled a "Historical Account of his Majesty's Visit to Scotland," wherein the whole of the interesting circumstances connected with that important occurrence have been industriously collected, and are related with an enthusiasm and elegance of language, which, as we could not hope to equal, we have taken the liberty to borrow.

"No sooner was it ascertained that the King would visit the metropolis of Scotland, than a controversy, maintained on both sides in the purest spirit of patriotism, arose respecting the place best adapted for his Majesty's landing. By some it was proposed that the Chain Pier at Trinity was in all respects more eligible than Leith harbour. This proposition was resented by the inhabitants of Leith, as offering an indignity to the place which had always been the landing-place of the Kings of Scotland, when returning from abroad, or from visiting the northern parts of their dominions. So strong was their feeling on this subject, that the conveners of Leith forwarded a petition to his Majesty, humbly entreating him to confer upon their town the distinguished honour of landing there; and it was finally adjudged that Leith should have the honour which its inhabitants so patriotically claimed.

"Leith now vied with Edinburgh itself in the magnificence of its preparations for the reception of his Majesty. A raft was placed on the south side of the inner harbour, from which a railed gangway ascended to the quay; where it was decided his Majesty:

should land.* This machine, equally commodious and elegant, was covered with grey cloth, above which was a foot-cloth of deep crimson, and strongly secured to the quay, so as to prevent any greater emotion than was necessary to maintain its buoyancy in the water. A wooden platform was also erected from the landing-place to the end of Bernard Street, where it was arranged his Majesty was to enter his carriage. That part of the platform on which the King should first place his foot on landing in Scotland, was a log of mahogany. A magnificent triumphal arch was erected at the north end of Bernard Street, and another in Constitution Street, in the line of the royal procession to the capital. Both were adorned with flowers and evergreens, and a variety of flags, among which the British jack was the most conspicuous.

“Above the first arch was a perfect Scottish crown, and under the crown were the royal sword and scepter.”

* On the spot on which his Majesty first set foot on the soil of Caledonia, there is now laid a cast-iron plate, with the representation of a crown in *bas relief* in the centre, and the following legend :

“GEORGE IV. REX.

O Felicem Diem.”

The plate, which is situated about forty yards north of the lowermost draw-bridge, on the quay, has a front also to the harbour, on which is this inscription :

“Here our most gracious Sovereign

GEORGE IV.

First touched Scottish ground, on Thursday, 15th Aug. 1822.
William Child, Admiral of Leith, John Macfie, James Reoch, and
Abram Newton, Magistrates.
Hugh Veitch, Town Clerk.”

tre. On the face of the arch upon the north side were inscribed the words, 'Scotland hails with joy the presence of her Sovereign ;' and on the other side appeared the royal initials, formed of variegated lamps. The second arch was ornamented by an excellent representation of the Scottish crown, and hung with festoons of flowers. On one side appeared, in variegated lamps, the words 'O Felicem Diem,' and on the other, 'O Happy Day.' The evergreens which entwined around the shafts of the arch were intermixed with sheafs of oats, the conception of which, and its effect, were equally felicitous.

"At a meeting of the magistrates and the merchants of the place, it was agreed, that on the occasion of the King's landing, the latter should appear in uniform, similar to that prescribed by the magistrates of Edinburgh, and line the streets in front of the Exchange. Directions at the same time were issued to the different corporations to assemble on the day of the King's landing, each trade under its own deacon, and occupy certain stations along the line of the procession, each individual bearing a white rod, as a badge of distinction. Seats were fitted up along the whole extent of the pier sufficient to accommodate two thousand spectators, and a scaffold was erected upon the draw-bridge for the accommodation of ladies and persons of quality. A proclamation was issued by the magistrates of Leith, recommending a general illumination on the evening after the King's landing. In short, nothing was left undone by the

magistrates and inhabitants of Leith, that could contribute to the accommodation of his Majesty, or the grandeur of the anticipated spectacle; and the completeness of their arrangements can be appreciated by those only who witnessed the admirable effect of them. So much for the preparations which were made in the ancient port of Leith, by its warm-hearted and loyal inhabitants, for the suitable reception of their august visitor.

“ On the 14th day of August, 1822, the royal squadron arrived in Leith Roads. Owing to the extreme wetness of the weather, however, it was arranged, that his Majesty should not land until the following day, and twelve o'clock was the hour fixed upon for this most interesting event taking place. On the morning of the 15th, it ceased to rain, and our revered monarch, as he ascended the deck, beheld the Scottish capital, with its towers and palaces basking in the rays of an autumnal sun, and the surrounding country spread out before him in all its loveliness. The Frith was covered with innumerable boats and vessels in their gaudiest apparel, and from many of them arose the strains of the bag-pipe, which floated over the waters, and were heard in the distance, wild yet pensive, like the voice of Scotland's genius, welcoming her Sovereign to her hospitable shores.

“ The different military corps, and other bodies in Edinburgh, which were to form the royal procession, being assembled about nine o'clock in Queen Street, and marshalled in proper order, proceeded to Leith,

where, in Bernard Street, it halted to await the arrival of the King. Here it was joined about eleven o'clock by the royal carriage, which was guarded by the Glengary Highlanders, consisting of twelve gentlemen with their *cearnachs*, under the command of Colonel Ronaldson Macdonell, of Glengary and Clanranald. These kept close to the royal carriage, which was drawn up at the end of the lower draw-bridge, until his Majesty had entered it, after which they occupied the station appointed them in the procession, next to the royal company of archers.

"The Lord President, the Lord Justice Clerk, (attended by the macers of their respective courts,) the Lord Clerk Register, the Lord Advocate; Sheriff Duff, Sir Walter Scott, and other distinguished individuals, withdrew into the rooms of Mr Reid, bookseller, which overlooks the place of landing, until the arrival of his Majesty. The Lord High Constable found accommodation provided for himself and his retinue in the elegant Exchange Buildings. The arrangements at Leith were upon the most extensive scale, and, by the unexampled assiduity of the magistrates, and the co-operation of a number of the most respectable inhabitants,* were completed by eleven o'clock.

* "Among these gentlemen was Mr Scarth, the moderator of the Constables, who particularly distinguished himself by his zealous exertions. We understand that the triumphal arch in Bernard Street was designed by Mr Scarth, and the one in Constitution Street by Bailie Reoch."—Of the former gentleman's zeal and intrepidity in another cause, the interests of Leith, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

"The trades of Leith, each under its own deacon, and the whole headed by their convener, bearing their respective banners, and each individual with a white rod, and neatly dressed in blue coats, white vests, and trowsers, with the national emblem of St Andrew's cross mounted on their hats, were arranged along Bernard and Constitution Streets, in the following order :

"Bernard Street, south side.—I. From the triumphal arch to Quality Street, the incorporation of shipmasters.

"II. From Quality Street to Charlotte Street, the different incorporations of trade, joined by the society of St Crispin.

"III. From Charlotte Street to Coatfield Lane, the incorporation of carters.

"IV. From Coatfield Lane to Leith Walk, the society of carpenters, cork cutters, and other tradesmen not named.

"Bernard Street, north side.—I. From the triumphal arch to the corner of Mr Scarth's house, the incorporation of maltmen.

"II. From Charlotte Street to the Links Lane, the incorporation of porters, and the different societies.

"III. From the Links Lane to Leith Walk, rope-makers, and other tradesmen,—rope-makers on the right.

"In Bernard Street, in front of the Exchange, were drawn up the merchant company of Leith, serving as high constables, all dressed in blue coats, white vests,

and trowsers, with the St Andrew's cross on their breasts, and carrying elegant batoons.

“The south side of the quay was lined by the constables of South Leith, dressed in the uniform that has just been described. A detachment of the Scots Greys guarded the upper end of the draw-bridge, and a detachment of yeomanry was stationed towards the pier. The platform on which the King would land was lined by his body-guard; the archers, commanded by the Earl of Elgin. The North British Staff, headed by Sir Thomas Bradford, commander-in-chief, occupied the space in front of Messrs Reid & Son's shop. Upon the north shore, the customhouse-quay was occupied by the Magistrates of Canongate (the superiors of North Leith), William Tullis, and John Rae, Esqs. and their Treasurer and Town Clerk, in their robes of office, and the trades of Canongate, headed by their Convener in his robes of office, &c. with their standards, and a band of music belonging to the burgh. At the end of the excise-office a large scaffold was erected, which was occupied by an assemblage of elegantly-dressed females. At the north end of the scaffold a flag-staff was erected, from which a flag was displayed, bearing the crown, encircled by thistles, with the motto, ‘Welcome ! In our hearts you reign Sovereign.’ At the bottom of the staff a balcony was formed, raised above fifteen feet from the ground, which was occupied by beautiful children. The shore on that side was lined by the constables of Canongate and North Leith. The scaffold on the

draw-bridge was filled with the beauty and fashion of Leith, and the seats along the pier were completely occupied by spectators. Every window, and every house-top that afforded a tenable position, and the shrouds of the vessels in the docks, were crowded to excess. Above the bridge five smacks were drawn up abreast of each other, their cross-jack-yards and cross-trees manned by sailors in new jackets and white trowsers, presenting the appearance of so many pyramids of men. The Magistrates of Leith, viz. Wm. Child, Esq. Port Admiral, Bailie Macfie, senior resident Magistrate, and Bailies Reoch and Newton, in their robes of office, accompanied by their assessor, Town Clerk, and Procurator Fiscal, were stationed on the platform, to be in readiness to receive his Majesty upon his landing.

“ A few minutes before twelve o’clock a gun from the Royal George, (his Majesty’s yacht,) announced that the King had entered his barge. The moment the signal was heard, a shout was raised by the thousands assembled on the shore, the effect of which was indescribably striking. The roar of the cannon from the ships and the battery, which saluted the King, and the combined voices of the multitude seemed as if contending for the mastery, while this joyful tumult of sounds was rendered still more impressively grand by the profound stillness that prevailed in the back ground.

“ His Majesty was accompanied in his barge by the Marquis of Conyngham, Lord Graves, Sir Charles

Paget, commodore, Mr Russel, flag lieutenant, and Mr Tucker, midshipman, and was rowed by sixteen men, dressed in blue frocks and black velvet caps,—Sir Charles Paget serving as helmsman. The royal barge was preceded by the barge of the Admiral on the station, and followed by the captains of all the King's vessels in the Roads, in their respective barges, according to seniority. An immense number of private boats, gaily trimmed, formed the rear of this grand aquatic procession, which advanced with a velocity almost equal to the impatience of the delighted spectators. So soon as the royal barge came within hail of the pier, the royal standard was hoisted on the light-house, and an immense cheer, accompanied by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, burst from the multitude. The noise at once subsided into a perfect calm, as if the breathless interest of the people, the palpitation which they endured to a degree now almost painful, had for the instant choked all power of utterance.

“ The royal barge now passed the pier-head, where three young men, the sons of gentlemen in Leith, struck up some national airs on the great Scots bagpipe, which, mixing with the rapturous shouts that now ascended from every quarter, gave a national tone to these demonstrations of welcome and joy that seemed to have delighted his Majesty, who bowed, without intermission, to the spectators on the pier. As the barge advanced on a line with the custom-house, the band belonging to the burgh of Canongate

struck up 'God save the King,' while the Magistrates of Canongate, the deacons, and trades, advanced and lowered their standards, the children who were in the balcony testifying their joy at the same time by the waving of handkerchiefs, and their loud and shrill acclamations. His Majesty noticed the dutiful homage of the Canongate authorities and corporations, to whom, and to his youthful subjects in the balcony, he graciously bowed. When his Majesty advanced to the landing-place, three distinct well-timed cheers were given by the tars who manned the smacks abreast of the bridge, which was followed up by the universal shouts of all upon the shore,—shouts the most hearty and prolonged that ever greeted the ears of a monarch. Hats and handkerchiefs now waved in such profusion from the ships, windows, and scaffoldings, that those who used them may almost literally be said to have shouted in the shade. His Majesty appeared most sensibly to feel the affectionate greetings of his subjects, and repeatedly took off his hat, and bowed on all sides. A profound silence again succeeded to the acclamations of the multitude. At twenty minutes past twelve o'clock, his Majesty, who was dressed in an admiral's uniform, with a thistle and a sprig of heather in his hat, and the St Andrew's cross presented to him in the name of the ladies of Edinburgh upon his breast, was alongside the landing-place, where the Port Admiral and Magistrates of Leith, the Lord Provost, the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lord Chief Baron, the Lord

Clerk Register, the Lord Advocate, Sir Thomas Bradford, Sir Walter Scott, and other distinguished persons, were stationed to receive him.

“ The Marquis of Lothian, Lord lieutenant of the county, accompanied by the Marquis of Winchester, groom of the stole, Lord Charles Bentinck, treasurer of the household, and two naval officers, descended from the platform to receive his Majesty. The Marquis of Lothian and Sir Charles Bentinck assisted his Majesty to step out of the launch upon the raft, where both these noblemen did homage, and the former had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand. The King then ascended the gangway with great alacrity, leaning slightly on the Marquises of Lothian and Conyngham, and was received on the platform by the Lord Clerk Register, who made his obeisance. The shouts of the multitude, the roaring of artillery, and the warlike notes of the trumpet, now announced the landing of King George IV. upon Scottish ground. The Port Admiral and Magistrates of Leith advanced to his Majesty, and, after the usual reverences, Bailie Macfie, the senior resident Magistrate, in name of the Magistrates and inhabitants of Leith, congratulated him upon his auspicious arrival in his ancient kingdom of Scotland. The King smiled in the most gracious manner, and condescended to express his entire satisfaction with the arrangements that had been made for his landing. He then shook hands with Bailie Macfie, and several persons of distinction, upon the scaffold.

“ The King having received the congratulations and homage of the assembled noblemen and gentlemen, which he most graciously and condescendingly acknowledged, proceeded with a firm and dignified step along the platform, attended on the right by the Port Admiral and senior resident Magistrate of Leith, flowers being strewed before his Majesty to the royal carriage. On his way he recognized the Earl of Elgin among the archers who lined the platform, whom he condescendingly shook by the hand. He then entered his carriage, accompanied by the Duke of Dorset and the Marquis of Winchester.

“ It would be utterly impossible to describe the enthusiastic exclamations which burst forth at this moment from all ranks, and they appeared to give the greatest satisfaction to the King. After his Majesty was seated in his carriage, Glengary, on horseback, forced his way through every obstacle, and advancing close to the royal carriage, exclaimed, ‘ Your Majesty is welcome to Scotland,’ a salutation which was returned by a most gracious bow from the King. After the King had rested a few minutes in his carriage, which was an open landau, hung very low, and drawn by eight beautiful bays, the drivers being in state liveries, the whole procession moved slowly towards Edinburgh.”*

* On the occasion of Charles I.’s visit to Edinburgh, in the year 1633, we are told, that amongst other demonstrations of joy, the “ town of Edinburgh gave a sumptuous banquet to sundrey nobles, courtiers, and court officers, with music and much merriment. After

Leith, notwithstanding the peculiar disadvantages under which it has laboured, has not only shared, but largely participated in the general prosperity of the empire, and has therefore undergone, to a very remarkable extent, the various local improvements consequent on a long continuation of successful commerce. By no circumstance is the increased importance of Leith more strikingly evinced, than by that of the vast addition to the better class of its population within the last forty years. In the Leith department of the Edinburgh Directory for the year 1784, there are only 417 names, whilst in that for the year 1826, there are upwards of 2000. This amazing increase in the more respectable part of its community must be at least quadrupled in the case of the inferior classes, even allowing, what we believe to be true, that they were then more scrupulous regarding the admission of names into the Directory than they are now.

The consequence of this increase of population has been, a great extension of the town in various directions, which will now, in many places, yield

dinner, the provost, baillies, and counsellors, ilk ane of them in others hands, with bare heads, came *dancing down* the streets, with all sorts of music, trumpeters, and drums." However much we may commend the loyal feeling which dictated this singular exhibition, we cannot help thinking, that it must have had a most ludicrous appearance; nor is it possible to contemplate the fat old bald-headed councillors, capering away down the High Street, and frisking it about like so many merry-andrews, with any degree of gravity.

to none, either for the elegance of its buildings, or beauty of situation. When we say this, we have particularly in view those ranges of houses on the west, north, and south sides of the Links; and certainly nothing can be finer than this vast natural square, which, when viewed in a still and beautiful summer morning, and especially from the north, with Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags in the back ground, and the wooded ridge of Hermitage Hill on the left, forms altogether as fair a scene as may any where be met with. We, however, as we have already hinted, particularly recommend a morning view. There is then a charm about the scene, which the advancing day greatly injures, if not altogether destroys.

Before proceeding to exhibit the progressive improvement of the trade of Leith, and the consequent but gradual increase of its shipping, it may not be considered either uninteresting or ill-timed to take notice of the most remarkable circumstances, and particularly of some of the various acts of parliament, connected with the early trade of Scotland. There is good reason to believe that the commerce of this country has been, comparatively speaking, from a very remote period, far from inconsiderable. Amongst many proofs of this, which could be adduced, we may mention, that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, several fleets were despatched from Scotland to the Holy Land, one of which sailed from the Solway Frith, and these, as we had then no navy, must have been com-

posed of merchant-vessels employed by the government. It is not, however, until the beginning of the thirteenth century that we have any thing like a distinct view of the ancient commerce of Scotland. At that period, and in the reign of Alexander I., the imports to the Tay, in particular, had been very considerable, as appears in a charter to the town of Perth, wherein it is ordained, that ships, on their arrival in the river, were not to break bulk until the merchants of Perth had been made acquainted with the circumstance. Indeed so plentifully was this town stored with foreign commodities, that wine was sold, even during a siege, at the rate of eighteen pence the gallon. Although Perth had certainly much earlier attained importance as a commercial town than Leith, yet the latter was unquestionably next to it in this respect, both in point of antiquity and extent. The trade of Leith was very considerable both in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and was particularly flourishing during the sixteenth, as appears from the sketch of the family of Barton, given in an early part of this work, one of whom we find about to sail for France with no less than eleven ships; and shortly after this, during one of the rare intervals of peace between Scotland and England, twelve ships, richly laden with the produce of this country, sailed from Leith for the latter kingdom.

Amongst the earliest legislative measures on record regarding the commerce of Scotland, is an act passed in the reign of James I., which enjoins, that for every

sack of wool exported, the merchant shall find security to the satisfaction of the *customers* of the port from which the ship sailed, that there shall be brought home to the master of the mint, three ounces of bullion, and the same for a last of hides. From this period, the spirit of mercantile speculation, and the number of ships seem to have so much increased, that it was thought necessary, in the year 1457, to restrict the “multitude of saillers;” and this was accordingly done by an act which forbade every one engaging in traffick unless he were “abill, and, of good fame.” By the same act it was also ordained that ships should be manned only by freemen of boroughs.

These restraints were carried still further in 1466. In that year it was enacted that no craftsman, either himself, or by his factors or servants, should follow the profession of a merchant, unless he renounced his craft, and that each merchant should have of his own, or in trust, one half of a last of goods. Of what sort, however, these goods should be, is very unaccountably not mentioned, nor is any equivalent valuation named. We cannot therefore see how this law could be carried equitably into effect.

At this period, also, charter-parties were first introduced, the form of which was contained in the act which enjoined their use, and was to the following effect:—That the master of the vessel should find a sufficient “steir man, tymmer men, and schip men, convenient for the schip,” and that the master should find free to the merchant, fire, water, and salt; that all

disputes between the merchant and the master should be submitted to the jurisdiction of the borough where the ship is freighted ; that the goods be no ways injured, under the penalty of a full compensation for the damage done, besides loss of freight ; that every ship exceeding five lasts of goods shall pay to the chaplain of the nation, a “ sack freight, and within five last, half a sack freight ;” that no “ drink-silver” be taken by the master or his agents ; and that homeward, the ship pay equal to the freight of a ton, to the kirk-work of the town to which she is freighted. In this year, also, it was enacted, that no ship should sail out of the realm from the Feast of Simon’s Day and Jude till Candlemas.

In the reign of the gallant James IV. who of all the Scottish monarchs most appreciated and encouraged the commercial interests of the kingdom, several acts favourable to that interest were passed. The first of these was to abolish an oppressive custom, which had long existed, of taking multure of all flour that was brought or imported into Leith. The same act ordained, that victual might be brought to market on any day of the week, as well as on those days which had been before specially appointed. The scarcity of ships, however, at this period, and of sailors, in direct opposition to the state of matters represented in the act of 1457 already noticed, seems to have been severely felt, in consequence, no doubt, of that very act, which must necessarily have had a most ruinous effect on the trade of the kingdom. In order to

remedy this evil, James commanded, by a statute dated 1491, "that there should be ships and busses built in every burugh and town within the realme, and that the least of these ships be not less than 20 tons, and that each town and burugh have their ships and busses, in proportion to their abilities, well provided with all necessary apparatus, and a sufficient complement of men for the taking of great and small fish. The said ships and busses to be ready to put to sea by Fastern Even. That the officers of the burugh compel all the idle men within their bounds to embark in the said ships for their wages, and if they refuse, to be banished the burugh." On the whole, however, with a few exceptive acts, such as those in the reign of James IV., the early trade of Scotland seems to have been grievously fettered by the barbarous and absurd enactments of the legislature. These having always consummate ignorance of commercial matters for their basis, proceeded, in many cases, from an over-anxiety for the general weal of the lieges, which frequently induced an officious interference, on the part of the government, between the merchant and the public, grievously oppressive to the former, and destructive of all commercial enterprise. Of this description was a curious act passed in the year 1540, in the reign of James V. By this act it was ordained, "that the provost, baillies, and council of burughs, where any ship shall arrive laden with wine, salt, or timber, shall convene with the merchants to whom the cargo belongs, when the prices at which the goods must be

sold shall be fixed and determined upon, and that no man buy the said wines, salt, or timber, excepting from the provost or baillies, or the owners ;” and it was further enacted; that in time coming the provost and bailies of boroughs should, in the entry of ships in the books of the town, see and take into consideration the merchants’ bills, and according to these, and allowing for freight and other charges, fix the prices at which the cargo was to be disposed of. This law, unjust and oppressive as it is, was, in these days, considered so judicious and beneficial to the common weal, that it was ratified by Mary of Lorraine, in the year 1555, with the further provision, that the prices fixed by the bailies should be proclaimed at the market-cross of the borough, and that none of the goods be sold for four days thereafter.

With regard to the Trade of Leith, we have not been able to fall upon a better mode of treating this important subject, than by laying before our readers the following statements :—

**COMPARATIVE REGISTER OF SHIPPING BELONGING TO
LEITH, AT INTERVALS, FROM 1692 TO 1826.**

1692.....	1,702 tons.
1744.....	2,285
1752.....	5,703
1787.....	14,150
1792.....	18,468
1802.....	18,241
1808.....	20,022
1826.....	25,674

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the ARRIVALS and SAILINGS of Vessels from Foreign Parts and Coastwise, at and from Leith, for the last Eight successive Years.

ARRIVALS.

	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.	1826.
From Foreign Parts - - - - -	478	521	421	313	332	389	621	398
Coastwise - - - - -	3371	3410	3776	3844	3669	3794	3490	3230
Total - - - - -	3849	3931	4197	4157	4001	4183	4111	3628

SAILINGS.

	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.	1826.
For Foreign Parts - - - - -	348	313	293	267	263	286	420	323
Coastwise - - - - -	1638	1690	2244	2366	2208	2271	1656	1735
Total - - - - -	1986	2003	2537	2633	2461	2557	2076	2058

Of the Vessels reported *Outwards* in 1820, 47 were in ballast; in 1821, 49; in 1822, 69; in 1823, 54; in 1824, 80; in 1825, 188; in 1826, 178; and the difference betwixt the totals of Arrivals and Sailings is accounted for, by many Coasting Vessels, and a considerable number of Vessels for Foreign Parts, having sailed without being necessitated to report at the Customhouse.

VESSELS from FOREIGN PARTS entered and discharged at the
Port of Leith in the Year 1825.

From	No.	From	No.
Aarhus - - -	1	Brought forward	313
Altingvel - - -	1	Malaga - - -	1
Altona - - -	1	Malta - - -	1
Amsterdam - - -	10	Mandahl - - -	6
Antwerp - - -	20	Memel - - -	28
Archangel - - -	8	Miramichi - - -	33
Bandholm - - -	1	Montreal - - -	3
Benecarlo - - -	1	Naxkow - - -	2
Bidford - - -	1	Neuvegian - - -	1
Bourdeaux - - -	9	Newcastle - - -	1
Brake - - -	2	New York - - -	1
Bremen - - -	4	Oldenburgh - - -	2
Cadiz - - -	6	Oporto - - -	18
Cape Breton - - -	1	Petersburgh - - -	40
Charente - - -	1	Pictou - - -	2
Christiansand - - -	6	Pillau - - -	10
Copenhagen - - -	8	Prestoe - - -	1
Dantzic - - -	51	Quebec - - -	4
Davis' Straits - - -	2	Randers - - -	1
Dram - - -	60	Rendsburgh - - -	3
Drontheim - - -	3	Richiebucto - - -	16
Elsfleth - - -	1	Richmond - - -	2
Faro - - -	1	Riga - - -	30
Fayal - - -	1	Rostock - - -	10
Gottenburgh - - -	26	Rotterdam - - -	44
Grenada - - -	2	Rouen - - -	2
Guernsey - - -	6	Rugen - - -	1
Hamburgh - - -	62	St Flowe - - -	1
Huntebrough - - -	2	St Johns - - -	1
Jackstadt - - -	1	Seville - - -	1
Jamaica - - -	1	Stettin - - -	26
Iceland - - -	2	Stipeninz - - -	1
Jersey - - -	2	Swinemunde - - -	1
Kiel - - -	4	Teneriffe - - -	1
Laurvig - - -	1	Tonningen - - -	2
Leer - - -	1	Uchermunde - - -	3
Leghorn - - -	1	Windau - - -	6
Lubec - - -	2	Wismar - - -	2
Carry over	313	Total	621

IMPORTS from FOREIGN PARTS in the Year 1825.

Arrow Roots	- - 2 pack.	Hides and Skins	{ 29,304 bdls.
Ashes	- - 1,250 brls.		{ 34,315 No.
Bark	- - 35,239 cwt.	Honey	- - 228 kegs
Bear	- - 640 qrs.	Horns	- - 405 No.
Beer, Spruce	- - 1,191 kegs		{ 30,929 bars
Black	- - 560 kegs	Iron	- - { 366 pigs
Bees' Wax	- - 2 pack.		{ 31 cwt.
Black Lead	- - 150 lbs.	Isinglass	- - 4 bales
Bones	- - 625 cwt.	Kidney Beans	- - 22 bags
Books	- - 76 cases	Leeches	- - 30 casks
Brimstone	- - 660 cwt.	Lime Juice	- - 1 pun.
Bulrushes	- - 195 loads	Linen	- - 14 bales
Burr Stones	- - 2,392 No.	Linseed Cakes	{ 36,137 No.
Butter	- - 9,976 casks		{ 146 cwt.
Cards	- - 1 box	Linseed	- - 6,264 casks
Cheese	- - 164,953 No.	Logwood	- - 26 tons
China	- - 5 casks	Madder	- - 133 casks
Cocoa	- - 115 brls.	Marble	{ 27 blocks
Coffee	- - 20 casks		{ 1 case
Cordials	- - 9 cases	Mats	- - { 23,362 No.
Cork Wood	- - { 2,195 bales		{ 38 bdls.
	- - { 5,776 cwt.	Medicinal { Selater	52 cases
Cotton	- - 28 pack.	Waters { Cologne	28 do.
Crucibles	- - 7 boxes	Oakum	- - 8 cwt.
Cyder	- - 37 casks	Oil	- - 2 casks
Feathers	- - 3 casks	Onions	- - 560 pack.
Fial	- - 100 mats	Picture Frames	- - 15 No.
Flax	- - 46,104 pack.	Pimento	- - 69 bags
Flower Roots	- - 31 cases	Pitch	- - 87 brls.
Fruits	- - 7,535 pack.	Quills	- - 84 pack.
Furs	- - 6 casks	Rags	- - 19,719 bags
Fustic	- - 50 tons	Rock Moss	- - 839 bags
Glass	- - 11 cases	Rusk	- - 172 casks
Grain, Wheat	{ 5,106 qrs.	Sweetmeats	- - 120 pack.
	{ 1,240 bags	Sugar	- - 526 casks
Oats	- - 8,482 qrs.	Shrub	- - 1 do.
Barley	{ 31,727 do.	Stock Fish	- - 1,131 No.
	{ 2,763 bags	Spirits—Rum, Bran-	{ 4,347 casks
Ham	- - { 476 No.	dy, Gin, and A-	{ quavitæ.
	{ 3 chests		
Hair and Bristles	- - 153 pack.	Tallow	- - 3,135 do.
Hemp	- - 1,116 bdls.	Tares	- - 591 bags
Herrings	- - 15 brls.	Tar	- - 3,617 brls.
Hones	- - 4 do.	Tea	- - 10 lbs.

TIMBER,		TIMBER,	
Balks	199 No.	Oars	331 No.
Battens and Bat-		Scoops	468 do.
ten Ends	427,860 do.	Spars	10,201 do.
Billets for Staves	43,536 do.	Shevels	177 do.
Birch, &c.	{ 2,490 pieces	Staves	120,055 do.
	{ 1,284 logs	Treenails	175,054 do.
Clapboards	3,541 No.	Wheel Spokes	2,445 do.
Deals and Deal		Vinegar	13 casks
Heads	114,324 do.	Valonia	2,200 cwt.
Fir	32,417 do.	Vermicelli	22 cases
Handspokes	1,753 do.	Whale Oil	349 casks
Hoops	1,200 bdls.	Wine	13 tons
Lathwood	{ 534 fath.	Wool and Woollen	8,063 casks
	{ 10,665 pieces	Goods	444 bales
Oak	{ 13,090 do.	Yarn	2,507 pack.
	{ 6,070 staves		

**GOODS EXPORTED TO FOREIGN PARTS from the Port of
LEITH in 1825.**

Agricultural Implements	20 pack.	Fruit	168 pack.
Ale and Porter	388 casks	Fish (dry)	25 casks
British Spirits	10 pun.	Guns	17 chests
Books	12 cases	Grain, Oatmeal	379 pack.
Beef	8 tierces	Wheat	282 brls.
Blacking	8 boxes	Barley	136 do.
Cotton and Cotton		Pease	8 do.
Yarn	3,982 pack.	Beans	50 do.
Coal	1,707 tons	Glass, Flint	663 pack.
Cudbear	36 casks	Crown	571 do.
Carpeting	88 bales	Green	2,382 do.
Cordage	67 coils	Gunpowder	525 casks
Cabinet Work	46 pack.	Grass Seed	18 bags
Corks	136 bags	General Articles	268 pack.
Candles and Soap	1,282 boxes	Herrings	4,938 brls.
Cheese	62 do.	Hams	36 casks
Coffee	198 pack.	Hops	12 bags
Cement	270 casks	Hoops	30 bdls.
Cattle, Cow	1 No.	Hardware	148 pack.
Sheep	32 do.	Handspokes	100 No.
Earthenware	270 crates	Household Furniture	26 pack.
Felt Hats	26 boxes	Iron, Cast	2,228 pack.
Free Stone	3 tons	Malleable	1,700 bars

Lead, in bars	-	58 tons	Sailcloth	-	114 pack.
Linseed	-	238 brls.	Stationary Ware	-	14 do.
Linens	-	330 bales	Sausages	-	200 No.
Millinery Goods	-	26 pack.	Salt	-	100 bags
Painters' Colours	-	346 do.	Starch	-	4 casks
Paving Stones	-	30 tons	Sovereigns	-	1 box
Potatoes	-	48 cwt.	Shot	-	16 chests
Pots, Pans, &c.	-	718 No.	Spirits, { Rum	-	491 casks
Pimento	-	45 bags	Foreign, { Brandy	-	66 do.
Pitch	-	260 brls.	Gin	-	132 do.
Plants	-	48 pack.	Tobacco	-	18 hhds.
Pork	-	250 brls.	Tar	-	120 brls.
Rosin	-	60 pack.	Tow	-	334 mats
Sugar	-	262 do.	Tin Ware	-	186 pack.
Seeds	-	96 do.	Upholstery	-	48 do.
Sharping Stones	-	3,300 No.	Vermicelli	-	39 boxes
Silks	-	38 pack.	Wine	-	214 casks and cases
Skins	-	2,038 No.	Wheel Spokes, &c.	-	1,058 No.
Shipping Tackle	-	48 pack.	Woollen Cloth	-	48 pack.
Saddlery Ware	-	118 casks	Wood	-	231 pieces for dunnage
Straw Hats	-	1 box			

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF SHORE DUES AT
THREE DIFFERENT PERIODS.

1763.....£580
 1783£4,000
 1825 upwards of £12,000 !!!

Various partial improvements* have been from time to time made upon the harbour of Leith. Amongst these, the first of any importance was, as we have already noticed elsewhere, the formation of the dock on the west side of the river, in the year 1710, when also that part of the east pier which is of stone was erected. In 1753, an act was passed for enlarging and deepening the harbour; but as those connected with that measure had very absurdly neglected the most important consideration in such cases, the means of carrying it into execution, nothing was done. Not at all, however, damped by the issue of this attempt, a project was soon afterwards entertained of improving and enlarging the harbour on a great scale, by running a canal from the river, through Bernard's Nook, as far as the first glass-house; and to the southward of this line it was proposed to form a large basin. The expense of carrying this project into ef-

* Perhaps the earliest notice of any attempt of this kind occurs in the year 1621, when "the cole-masters on both sides of the river Forth, (for the creydit of the countrey, and saftie of strangers) trading to them for cole and salte, does freely undertake, in June this year, (1621), to put marks and beacons on all the craiges and retired rockes within the Firth, above Leith roade, upon their own charges." Balfour's *Annals*, vol. 2d. p. 83. "In this foresaid month of June, two staitsmen of warre, in Leith road, fell upon a grate warre shipe of Dunkirk belonging to the king of Spaine, and after a long fight, and maney men killed and woundit, they forced her to rune on the Sandes at the entrey of Leith heaven, and thereafter sete her on fyre and burnt her. She was commanded by Don Pedro de Vanvorne, a Spanish Captaine." —*Idem*.

fect, it was intended to defray by levying an additional duty, from a penny to sixpence a ton, on all the tonnage of shipping in the harbour. To this iniquitous and absurd proposition, however, as the charges on the shipping of Leith were before much too high, the most strenuous opposition was made by those interested, and the consequence was, that the projectors were compelled to abandon their design. In these cases, the Edinburghers, as in all others, proposed to improve the port of Leith, at the expense of ruining its trade by exorbitant imposts and exactions. In the year 1777, however, they added somewhat to the accommodation of the port, by erecting that short pier on the west side of the river, now called the Custom-house quay.

The vast increase of the trade of Leith towards the latter end of the last century, however, rendered it absolutely necessary that improvements on the harbour, and these on a large scale, should, without loss of time, be effected. Impressed with the necessity* of this measure, the Magistrates of Edinburgh, in the

* This necessity existed as early as the year 1784, and at that period proposals were made for improving and extending the accommodations of the port; but as these, so far as Edinburgh was concerned, were founded on the old principle of levying additional dues on its shipping, in place of being defrayed, as they ought to have been, out of the regular revenues of the port, the inhabitants of Leith very properly and spiritedly resisted the proposed measures, and succeeded, not only in this, but in ascertaining and defining the rights of the town of Leith in such a way as to prevent any further attempts at encroachment on the part of the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh,

year 1799, obtained an act authorising them to borrow £160,000, to enable them to form a superb range of docks designed by John Rennie, Esq. civil engineer. In consequence of this, the eastern wet dock was begun in the year 1800, and finished in 1806; the second was begun in 1810, and completed in 1817. Each of these docks is 250 yards long, and 100 yards wide, both including a space equal to 10½ English acres, and sufficiently capacious to contain 150 vessels of the ordinary classes that frequent the port. On the north side of these are three graving-docks, each 136 feet long, and 45 wide at the bottom, 150 feet long by 70 feet wide at the top, and the width of the entrance is 36 feet. The two wet docks cost about £175,086, the three graving-docks £18,198, the draw-bridges £11,281, and the ground for the docks and warehouses £80,543, making together about £285,108, exclusive of £8000 for building the new bridge over the Water of Leith. When these magnificent docks were first projected, it was intended that there should be a third basin, extending towards the fort, and having an entrance from that side. This basin was to have been the largest of the three, viz. 500 yards long and 100 wide. The large sums, however, which had been already expended on these improvements, and which would further be required for their completion, prevented the plan from being wholly executed. In 1818, an estimate was made of the expense which would be incurred by completing Mr Rennie's design, or, in other

words, of continuing the docks towards Newhaven, and forming an extensive basin there, and the cost was calculated to be £322,565. 14s. 9d. As this large sum, however, if expended on the port, would have required an additional revenue, calculating the interest at 3½d. per cent. of £11,200, and as the charges were already oppressively high on the shipping and merchandize of the port, the idea of executing the original design was again abandoned.

From the year 1817, therefore, up to the present day, nothing further in the way of improvement was attempted on the harbour or its accommodations. On the contrary, no sooner were the works at Leith completed, so far as it was then found practicable, than the town council of Edinburgh relapsed into that supineness regarding the affairs of the port, which seems hereditary in that body. By a sudden and unwonted exertion of something like a liberal and active spirit, they bestirred themselves in the formation of the docks; this done, however, and the necessary arrangements being made for securing a proper return, they flung themselves down, exhausted with their exertions, into their civic chairs, wiped their faces with their handkerchiefs, looked around them with an air of comfortable importance, and said, or seemed to say, "Have we not done our duty?" At all events, they appear to have conceived—as they seem to have since acted on the idea—that if any fatherly care over the interests of the port was due from them in time to come, it must be evinced in the way of occasionally clap-

ping on an additional charge on its shipping and merchandize. This sort of tenderness they have now carried so far, that we do believe that nothing but their inability to find or invent names for further imposts, and not at all from any foolish conscientious feeling—to which they stand acquitted of all pretensions—prevents Leith experiencing a little more of their kindness. The charges already levied, and now levying, on the shipping of Leith, are so numerous, that every possible term that man can conceive—and some of them are beyond the conceptions of ordinary men—has been employed to distinguish them. Single, double, triple, and compound epithets, each properly charged with some sort of exaction, are hurled, like so many hand-grenades, on board of every unfortunate vessel that enters the port. Amongst these we have birthage, flag-lights, bills of cargo, entry-dues, &c. &c. *ad infinitum*, and, in some cases, we suspect, *ad libitum* also. These we have named, in the true spirit of the fifteenth century, are levied, not only without the sanction of parliament, but in direct violation of the act of regulations for the dues payable at Leith. In short, the general bad state of the port,* with the exorbitant, unjust, and oppressive

* The truth of this, as well as the absurdity and ruinous consequences of the affairs of a large sea-port, such as Leith, being in the hands of a few Edinburgh shop-keepers, metamorphosed into magistrates and councillors, will be made sufficiently evident by the following extract from a letter addressed to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, on the 3d April, 1824, by the committee of the Ship Owners' Society.

charges to which its shipping is subjected, whilst it has long been matter of serious but unavailing complaint, has also been a melancholy proof how utterly unfit for the management of its affairs were those into whose hands it was, until lately, unfortunately placed. To have completed the total ruin of the trade of Leith, and of consequence Leith itself, there seemed to have been but one measure wanting, and on this,

of the Frith of Forth. After stating that they had from time to time remonstrated with the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh for seven years past, not only without effect, but that the causes of complaint were multiplied and increased beyond all former example, they proceed to say, "Not only is the entrance to the harbour filling up, but banks or shoals have got up in different parts of the harbour itself, on which vessels drawing little more than nine feet water have been neaped for several tides together. The regular packets and smacks for Hamburg and London, which are at all times subjected to competition with the direct traders from Port Dundas and Grangemouth, have laboured under the additional disadvantage of being detained in Leith harbour, with their valuable cargoes, for days together; and the larger class of shipping have been subjected to still greater detention and loss; and all this while paying exorbitant rates of harbour-dues compared with those at Grangemouth, or other ports in the Frith of Forth.

"The same disregard to the safety or accommodation of the shipping is carried through every branch of the regulations of the port. The principal fair-way buoy was lately allowed to be out of its place for weeks together, to the imminent hazard of valuable shipping and property, and to the actual injury of it in two instances, and for four successive nights. During the last neap-tides no light was shewn at the pier-head to enable any vessel to enter the harbour with safety, a circumstance which had nearly proved fatal to a steam-boat crowded with passengers!" It was surely full time that this gross mismanagement was put an end to.

with a singular and mischievous felicity peculiar to them when they meddle unadvisedly with the affairs of the port, the town council of Edinburgh stumbled, when they conceived, and attempted to carry into effect, the iniquitous project of making over the docks of Leith to a joint-stock company, the holders of which were to have been secured in the return of 6½ per cent. per annum ;—a scheme which would have been not less destructive to Leith, as it certainly was not much dissimilar in character to that enslaving bond which the Edinburghers themselves obtained from Logan of Restalrig in the fifteenth century. Happily, however, for the interest of the port, and for the rights of freemen, which were in this case threatened with violation, this infamous attempt was defeated by the spirited, unanimous, and determined conduct of the inhabitants of Leith, who one and all rose up in opposition to the measure. This resistance, however, would perhaps after all have been unavailing against the powerful influence of the council of Edinburgh, had not Leith been particularly fortunate in its choice of the men appointed to conduct that opposition. But in this they were fortunate ; and the names of Scarth and Crichton will long command the respect and gratitude of the inhabitants of Leith. These gentlemen, in the true spirit of patriotism, and with an activity and ability which ultimately saved the town, boldly encountered the influence of Edinburgh. In every stage of its progress towards the ruin of the port, they devoted their money, their time,

and talents, to the cause of Leith. They disputed the ground of contention inch by inch with their opponents, and finally came off as honest men always should from a contest with injustice and oppression.

When the ruinous measure of disposing of the Leith docks to a joint-stock company is viewed in all its bearings,—when the results which would have inevitably followed the completion of that infamous scheme are contemplated,—our wonder is, not that the bill was thrown out by the legislature, but that men should have been found sufficiently qualified, by the absence of all sense of justice, and all regard for public opinion, to bring it before a legislative assembly of freemen. Happily the case is without parallel; and not less fortunate is it for the good of mankind, that the town council of Edinburgh is without its compeer.

Had this infamous joint-stock job been carried into effect, the port would have been not simply injured, but totally and irrevocably ruined; men who cared for nothing connected with it or its interests, but the regular payment of their usurious $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and who might probably have lived at a hundred miles distance, would have become proprietors; the charges on the shipping would have been multiplied, and increased, and perpetuated, to meet this exorbitant return; the docks would have gone to ruin; and the interests of the port, through all its ramifications, would have been neglected. No ship would have sought the port of Leith, when ruinous charges and the chance of shipwreck awaited her; no merchant would have brought

his goods into her harbour, when he would have been compelled to halve his profits with a joint-stock company; and empty warehouses and a deserted town would have been inevitably the result of the whole. Nor is this any imaginary picture: it is a natural and reasonable deduction. From this fate, however, has Leith been saved by the spirited conduct of its inhabitants, and in a particular manner by the exertions of those gentlemen already named. The burden of gratitude, therefore, for this good service, does not, as in many other cases of public benefit, rest on the whole community collectively, but on each singly and individually. It is true, that the joint-stock scheme carried the germ of its ultimate annihilation within it;—the thing would have cured itself, but not until the port of Leith had been irretrievably ruined. In short, to conclude with the idea with which we began this subject, there was just one way by which the affairs of the port of Leith could possibly be worse managed than by the town council of Edinburgh, and that was by placing them in the hands of a joint-stock company.

From evil, however, good has arisen; and in place of the docks being sold to a parcel of joint-stock jobbers, they, as well as the conducting of great improvements on the harbour now projected, are placed under the management of a commission,* equally ap-

* In order to give our readers a complete idea of the constitution of this commission, and of other matters connected with the projected improvements on Leith harbour, we subjoin the leading features of the

pointed by Leith and Edinburgh, instead of being, as formerly, invested solely in the town council of the city. For this favourable turn in the affairs of Leith, the town is again indebted to the perseverance and

act of parliament on the subject, and which received the royal assent on the 29th of May, 1826.

“ I. The amount of the debt on the docks is reduced, as agreed to by the city of Edinburgh in the last amended state of the dock company, to £265,000.

“ II. In consideration of a part of the inner wet dock, and a space of ground adjoining, being given up to the commissioners of his Majesty's navy, for the use of the naval service, government has given a loan, to the amount of £265,000, at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, on a sinking fund, equal to 1 per cent. per annum for the first 12 years, and 2 per cent. thereafter being accumulated for the extinction of the debt, the government-debt being paid off the docks to revert to the city of Edinburgh.

“ III. The city of Edinburgh have entered into an agreement to expend out of their shore-dues £28,000 on the extension of the eastern pier, while government propose to expend £19,000 on the extension of the western pier, so as to form at the same time a communication to the naval yard, and so effect the improvement of the harbour.

“ IV. Commissioners are appointed for superintending and managing the affairs of the harbour and docks, and improvements therewith connected, excepting only that they shall not interfere in the collection of the revenue, and that they shall not have the power of expending more than £1000 per annum on the harbour, and a like sum on the docks, without the consent of the town council of Edinburgh. They are also to have the charge of the ballast department, and to have the power of constructing timber basins on the eastern sands. They are also to have the appointment of a superintendent, and all the other officers to be employed under them,—such appointments, however, being subject to the approval of the town council of Edinburgh, with the exception of the clerk who keeps their minutes, who is to be ap-

activity of the gentlemen who so ably and successfully conducted the opposition to the joint-stock bill. They, with the powerful aid of Lord Melville, who took an early and warm interest in the affairs of Leith, and having met with a more conciliatory spirit on the part of the town council, after their defeat, succeeded in obtaining, alongst with the latter, an arrangement with the government reciprocally advantageous, for the particulars of which see the extracts from the bill thrown into a note below.

The proposed improvements projected by Mr Chapman, and in which, we believe, the distinguished talents of Mr Crichton had a large share, principally are :— The extending the present pier 2550 feet further out than it now is ; the extension to have a slight curve,

pointed by the council, but to be subject to suspension by the commissioners.

“ V. The commissioners are to consist of, the Lord Provost, and five other members of the town council ; the master of the merchant company of Edinburgh ; three persons elected by the trinity house of Leith ; three to be elected by the merchant company of Leith ; two merchants in Edinburgh, who shall be payers of rates at the port of Leith to the extent of five pounds per annum, and not being members of the town council, nor being connected therewith, or dependant thereon, to be named by the magistrates and council of Edinburgh ; three merchants or ship-owners of Leith, being payers of rates to the extent of twenty-five pounds per annum, one of which to be erected by the corporation of maltmen of Leith, one by the incorporated trades of Leith, and one by the ship-owners' society of Leith ; and three persons to be named from time to time by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. In all twenty-ones.”

and to terminate about 300 feet west of the Martello Tower. The docks are to be extended towards New-haven, where it is proposed the naval yard shall be, occupying a space of from 300 to 400 feet in front towards the sea. From the extremity of the naval yard it is proposed to run out a covering pier, in a northerly direction, 1500 feet long, and which shall terminate within about 200 feet of the great pier, and about 100 feet from its extreme point. Thus the entrance into the harbour will be the space between the point of the western or covering pier and the extended part of the old, or about 200 feet wide; thus also, besides many other collateral advantages which will arise from the intended improvements, a large, safe, and commodious basin or bay will be formed between the west pier and the extended pier: the former is to be built at the expense of the government, and to be chiefly used for the purposes of the naval yard. The greatest and most beneficial result anticipated from these projected improvements, is the creating a greater depth of water at the entrance into the harbour, not less, it is thought, than from two to three feet, an acquisition which will be of the first importance to the harbour of Leith, since it goes so far to remove one of its most serious defects; one, in fact, which has all along rendered all interior improvements nearly unavailing,—the scarcity of water. This effect will be produced by the large body of water in the basin, formed by the two piers, passing with a strong current, as it must necessarily do, through the narrow opening be-

tween them on the ebbing of the tide, and with yet greater force passing in on the flowing of the sea.

These are, we believe, the leading features of the proposed plans ; but there are many other minor improvements contemplated. We may add, that the present pier, will, after its extension, be 3550 feet, or two-thirds of a mile long. It was not, however, without much discussion between the town council of Edinburgh and the people of Leith, that the tenor of the bill was finally agreed upon ; and nothing but the ability and unremitting assiduity of the gentlemen appointed by the inhabitants of the town to watch over their interest in its formation, prevented its being so modelled as to invest the former with powers which would have been at once both most injurious and degrading to the latter. Amongst the most important of the various alterations and modifications which the bill underwent previous to its receiving the assent of both parties, was one which took from the town council the power of securing a numerical majority in the board of commission.

Soon after the bill for the improvement of Leith harbour had received the sanction of the legislature, the commission provided for the superintendence of these improvements was formed, and proceeded to the discharge of its functions. In the performance of this public duty, it was not unreasonable to expect that the members of the commission would have suppressed all inimical feelings of a personal nature, and that if they found it impossible to entertain any thing

like a cordial esteem for each other, they would at least have had sufficient discretion and regard for the interests of the community, not to allow the public weal to be injured by private resentments. Unfortunately, however, this has not been the case: the town council of Edinburgh, or at least those of that body who form part of the board of commission, have brought to the official meetings of that board a great deal of ungenerous and hostile feeling towards their colleagues of Leith. The independent and spirited conduct of the latter during the progress of the bill, had wounded their pride as lords superiors, and their success in opposing the joint-stock scheme had baffled their views as mercantile speculators, by cutting off a source of large prospective gain. In this spirit the Edinburgh commissioners have formed themselves into a sort of battle-array against those of Leith, and come down to the board-room, predetermined to thwart their views, and to oppose their measures. One result of this indecent and invidious disposition has been, that, contemning the general voice of the people of Leith, which on no occasion was ever more unanimous and decided, they have thrust into the office of superintendent of the docks, a gentleman who, let his other qualifications be what they may, cannot be supposed, from the circumstance of his being almost an utter stranger to the place, to be possessed of such local knowledge, or to have the interests of the port so much at heart, as the able person whom the inhabitants of Leith,

one and all, had marked out for that appointment. But Mr Crichton had become too formidable to the town council of Edinburgh; he had kept, and, moreover, threatened still to keep, too watchful an eye over their proceedings; he had withal shewn too little deference to the high and mighty lords superiors of Leith, for them to feel any thing like comfort in circumstances which would have brought him and them into such close and frequent contact. With this feeling they determined, in despite of the manifold claims which that gentleman had to the appointment in question; his intimate acquaintance, acquired from many years' experience, and a long course of attentive and judicious observation, with every particular and local circumstance relating to the port and harbour of Leith; his eminent acquirements in scientific knowledge; and, second to these only, his being the unanimous choice of those who are naturally most interested in the welfare of the port—the inhabitants of Leith;—in despite, we say, of these claims, the town council determined that Mr Crichton should not have the office of superintendent; and, afraid to trust the accomplishment of this end to a fair and honest decision, they have descended to trick and chicanery.

By what sort of fatuity it happens that the town council of Edinburgh are blind to the palpable fact, that the interests of the port and the city are one and the same, they themselves only can explain. That they should be unable to perceive, what is obvious to

every one else, viz. that what benefits the one must necessarily benefit the other, is a species of cecity which has hitherto most fortunately afflicted only the civic rulers of the city. Notwithstanding, however, of this unhappy and illiberal disposition on the part of the Edinburgh commissioners, it was agreed by both parties, that the first active step taken in the projected improvements should be attended with all the ceremony and pomp becoming the commencement of a great public undertaking. Accordingly, on the 15th day of August, 1826, which was happily enough fixed upon, being the fourth anniversary of the King's landing, the first pile of the new or extended pier was driven into the ground at the end of the present pier, with all the honours which a splendid procession* could confer. As this event forms rather a prominent feature in the modern history of Leith, it will not, we presume, be deemed an intrusion to give some account of the proceedings of that day. Excepting, perhaps, the greatest and most memorable of all days in the annals of Leith, the 15th of August, 1622, the town on no occasion ever exhibited a more animated or bustling scene, than on that on which the first overt act of improvement on the harbour took place. A day or two previous to that fixed upon for the procession, wooden seats—somewhat similar to, but not so numerous as those erected on the occasion of his

* As this circumstance will one day become matter of interest, we have thought it proper to preserve the programme of this procession. See Appendix, No. 1.

Majesty's landing—were laid alongst the whole length of the pier, at the shore end of which a barrier was raised, to prevent an indiscriminate admission of the crowd, those only being allowed to pass who had provided themselves with tickets from the authorities; and as these had very properly been limited, all inconvenient crowding and confusion on the narrow pier was avoided; and although many hundreds were accommodated, sufficient space was left for the procession to pass along without the slightest interruption. As the day advanced, the scene became more and more animated; crowds of well-dressed people from the city, and carriages without number, came pouring into the town, to join the cheerful revelry. At ten o'clock in the forenoon, counting-rooms were opened as usual, but this was mere matter of form, and not at all done with any serious intent. Both clerks and masters looked idly around them for a few seconds, without making any attempt to go through the usual preparatory steps of the morning. The ponderous ledger was permitted to continue undisturbed its slumbers in the *safe*, and the grey goose-quill remained uncut. In short, the wandering thoughts, and vacant and impatient looks of the sons of traffic, on the morning of this memorable day, sufficiently indicated that great events were on the gale, and that there was no mind left for the business of the counting-room. After, therefore, a few hasty and unmeaning manœuvres, the office was deserted, and emancipated clerks flocked in shoals to the scene of action.

About half past eleven the proceedings of the day had attained their utmost interest. The eastern side of the pier was entirely lined with well-dressed persons, and cheerful faces, both male and female. The west pier, the roof of Mr Menzies's workshops, and the sea-wall of the docks, as far as the first bastion, were also covered with an eager, curious, and animated assemblage, but of more motley composition. The roof of the customhouse, a favourite and commanding situation, and of high celebrity since the glorious 15th August, 1822, exhibited a dense mass of plebeian aristocrats; that is to say, of persons superlatively dressed. To increase the splendour of the scene, three smacks belonging to the three London shipping companies were moored at nearly equal distances along the inside of the pier; and from almost every rope and spar of these handsome vessels streamed forth a hundred flags and pennons of various and brilliant hues. Nor were those ships in the docks and harbour, though less distinguished, by any means less anxious to display their satisfaction in an event which so nearly concerned them;—all of them bedecked themselves in their best and gaudiest array. In short, both the docks and the harbour flamed with broad red flags, and “streamers long and gay.”

Two sloops in the Roads were decorated in a similar manner with their sisters in the port. In all the ships nearest the line of the procession, great numbers of seamen were to be seen clustered in the rigging; but the three chosen vessels had their yards

completely manned, a decoration which, in our opinion, far exceeds the most splendid and profuse display of flags and pennons.

The various public bodies which were to take part in the procession began to collect in front of the Assembly rooms about ten o'clock, where they were joined by three bands of music, and a small body of the seventh Hussars, who attended to preserve order. Having been marshalled according to a plan previously arranged, the procession, at half past eleven, proceeded down Bernard Street, amongst the Shore, and down to the extremity of the pier, where a temporary platform was erected for the accommodation of the magistrates and dock commissioners, and to enable them to surround the pile which was about to be driven. The magistrates of both towns, and all the officers of the public bodies, walked in their official robes, attended by their macers and halbert-men.

Of the several component parts of this procession, there were none more striking than the corporations of Leith, whose orderly conduct, and remarkably respectable appearance, together with their very showy and elegant flags, added much to the splendours of the day. The head of the procession reached the end of the pier a little before twelve. The Lord Provost, accompanied by the magistrates, dock commissioners, superintendent, &c. then descended to the platform. A bible was laid upon the table; wine and oil were presented in two silver cups; and some ears of oats in a brass horn or cornucopia. These were called the

elements. Things being thus prepared, the reverend Mr Grant delivered an appropriate prayer. The clerk of the dock commission then presented a copy of the dock act, and Mr Chapman an engraved plan of the projected improvements. These having been deposited on the table, the Lord Provost addressed those around him on the subject of the day's proceedings. His lordship then cut a rope which suspended a block of wood, in a machine adapted for the purpose of driving large stakes. The block immediately descended on a pile previously sunk in the sand. The wine, oil, and corn, were strewed on it; and presently a hurra announced that that part of the ceremony was completed. Three loud and hearty cheers from the whole assembled multitude, far and near, immediately followed, in the midst of which the bands struck up some lively airs, and the discharge of several pieces of cannon, placed on the west pier, mingled with this loud and general expression of satisfaction. When the blow was given to the pile, the reverend Mr Grant again offered up a short prayer. The procession now slowly returned amongst the pier in reversed order, and at the draw-bridge parted in two divisions. The Lord Provost and magistrates of Edinburgh and Leith, with the dock commissioners, previously embarked on board of the Tug steam-boat, in which they proceeded to a spot about 100 yards from the north-west corner of the new docks, where a flag and some machinery were erected. Here the ceremony of driving a pile was repeated, as the

foundation of the new west pier. Another salute of great guns announced the completion also of this part of the business of the day. In the evening a splendid dinner, at which nearly 200 persons sat, concluded this first step towards the improvements of Leith harbour.

The irritation and hostile feeling on the part of the Edinburgh commissioners, and particularly of the chief magistrate, was not, however, to be allayed by a dinner; and consequences have since followed from this spirit, which cannot be contemplated without regret, nor the conduct of its author without something of a stronger feeling. William Trotter, Esq. Lord Provost of Edinburgh, in his wisdom, has thought fit, in utter contempt of the feelings of the inhabitants of Leith, and of public opinion, and with equal disregard of an old and salutary custom, to thrust upon the town a magistracy absolutely and literally of his own electing! than which a more gross absurdity, or a more intolerable exertion of power, cannot well be conceived; nor can our constitution lay claim to the glorious attributes of freedom and liberality, so long as it exhibits a character so opposite in its details. By forcing a magistracy on a people, all confidence is destroyed; the respect and willing obedience to the municipal authorities, in their civic capacities, so essentially necessary to the preservation of good order in society, cannot possibly exist; the magistrate, conscious that he is neither esteemed nor respected, permits personal feelings, and

these not of the most amiable kind, to interfere with the discharge of his official duty. Thus both parties look on each other with an evil and a jealous eye, and the public weal is injured. To this condition, however, has the arbitrary exertion of power spoken of reduced the town of Leith. How much longer this unhappy state of matters will be allowed to exist, now depends upon the fiat of the legislature, before which the case is about to be laid. That it may be decided in favour of the oppressed, must be the wish, not only of all who take any interest in the affairs of Leith, but of all who have any regard for the true glory of the state, in which the circulation of liberal sentiment, like the current of blood through the human body, cannot be interrupted, even in the most remote extremities, without injury to the whole frame. It is surely now too late in the day to talk, with any chance of being listened to, much less with effect, any stuff about the rights of superiority, especially in a case where it relates solely to the municipal government of the community; and yet this is the only defence or warrant for their conduct which the town council of Edinburgh can produce. It is not therefore unreasonable to expect, that a mere matter of right, originating in barbarity and tyranny, will not longer be permitted to darken the glorious disk of the British constitution, and that the populous and thriving town of Leith will be speedily emancipated from the thralldom of Edinburgh.

With the patrimonial rights of the city in Leith,

the inhabitants of the latter place have no wish to interfere. Should any change, however, which may take place in their favour, unavoidably affect the pecuniary interests of the former, for this they are ready and willing to make every compensation. Besides the uprightness of its cause, Leith is not without other claims on the justice of the legislature. In the hour of danger it has never been backward; when the country was menaced with internal commotion, it took active measures* to put down the spirit of rebellion; and when a foreign foe threatened to invade our shores, Leith raised 600 men for their defence.

In order to shew the exact situation in which the magistrates, not the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and the people of Leith, stand with regard to each other in this case, it is necessary to mention, that for thirty-six years past, it had been the practice for the retiring magistrates, and their predecessors in office, to nominate their successors. Previous to the period when this arrangement was entered into, and from the time that the Edinburghers got possession of the superiority of the town, the persons chosen by the town council to officiate as magistrates of Leith were always citizens of Edinburgh, and residents there. These were consequently compelled to come down to Leith to discharge the duties of their office, a system of things which was not more inconvenient to the persons themselves who were pre-

* Amongst other measures, the inhabitants of Leith, in 1792, passed the loyal resolution recorded in Appendix, No. 2.

ferred to that dignity, than it was detrimental to the municipal government of the town. This appears sufficiently evident from the very frequent occurrence of such entries as the following in the old minute-books of the court of Leith: "No court this day, in regard the bailie came not down." The great inconvenience arising from the circumstance of the civil authorities of Leith—their residing at such a distance from the scene of their official duties—was early made a subject of complaint by the inhabitants of Leith, as appears by the following petition from the church-session of South Leith:

" PETITION TO THE TOWN COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH.

" 2d October, 1693.

" That although it may be evident how much it is for the glory of God and the interest of the government, that piety and good order flourish in this place, where there is such a confluence of strangers, not only from other parts of the kingdom, but from foreign nations, yet it is not unknown to your lordship and honours, what profanation and wickedness and other disorders do abound in this place, to the dishonour of God, the scandal of the protestant religion, and the great grief of all pious Christians; and although your petitioners have been endeavouring to use the power and authority God hath intrusted them with, for redressing of vice and wickedness, yet people are so headstrong in a sinful course, that they contemn the government and censures of the church. All which your petitioners, taking to their serious consideration, do humbly conceive, (with all

submission), that the constant residence of a magistrate in the place, to whom ready application may be made upon all emergencies, may contribute very much for suppressing the evils aforesaid. For although the magistrates we have had for some years past have been faithful and diligent in the exercise of that power wherewith they were intrusted, yet by reason of their residence at such a distance, there are many disorders fall out, for stopping whereof no timeous course can be had, and much libertie is taken by profane persons, upon whom the constant residence of the magistrate would have an *awful restraint*."

This petition was carried up to the town council by a deputation of nine members of the church-session ; but, respectful and reasonable though it be, it was, like almost every other supplication of the inhabitants of Leith to that body, treated with contempt, and no change took place.*

The judicious regulation, however, already mentioned, viz. the election of the magistracy by their predecessors, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh has thought fit to interrupt, by appointing, as we have already said, a magistracy of his own choosing. In this, however, it is gratifying to know, he encountered some difficulty, as it was several days before any person sufficiently destitute of public spirit was found to accept of office, under the degrading cir-

* We may notice here, that the Leith courts were very frequently held in Newhaven, and in more than one instance in the weigh-house in Bernard Street.

cumstances by which it was attended. This difficulty was so great, that his lordship himself, *in propria persona*, had to descend from his dignity and beat up for recruits for the bench of Leith; but, excepting in the two last instances, he had the mortification of meeting, in every other quarter where he applied—and they were many and various—with the most contemptuous denials. The limits of this work will not permit us to extend this subject to the length which its importance would require, nor will it permit us to describe the loud and universal burst of indignation* which arose from Leith; when this insult was offered to its magistracy, aggravated as it was by the circumstance of one of the gentlemen who composed it, his being deposed at the end of one year, instead of two, the usual duration of that office. In order, however, that our readers may be enabled to form some idea of the strong and general feeling of displeasure which this part of the Lord Provost's conduct towards Leith excited, we have thought it proper to preserve, in the Appendix, the various resolutions of the different incorporations of Leith, who, on this memorable occasion, hastened to assemble, in order to express publicly, and in the face of the

* Amongst other expressions of the general displeasure which this circumstance excited, was the resignation of the constables, who, one and all, without the exception of a single individual, gave up their batons. These formidable instruments were collected in the reading-room, and were from time to time, as they accumulated, despatched in barrows to the town's chambers.

world at once, their respect and esteem for their insulted magistrates, and their deep sense of the wrong which had been done the community of which they formed a part. The insult in this case was doubly felt, that the gentlemen who filled the bench of Leith at that particular juncture were, in an eminent and unusual degree, esteemed and respected by the inhabitants of the town. Their independent and manly conduct whilst in office, and in all matters relating to the port, had secured them the best affections of the people. In short, no set of men were ever more popular, or better deserved that popularity, than the late magistrates of Leith. Messrs Burn, Scarth, and Hardie, however, have nothing personal to regret in this unhappy occurrence. The insult which it was meant to offer them has called forth expressions of regard from their fellow-townsmen, which is the brightest and best reward of upright conduct, and the most enviable of all human gratifications. The latter of these gentlemen was requested by the Provost to continue in office, but he indignantly refused.

We must not, however, depart from this subject, without noting another circumstance connected with it, not less amusing than it was unwarrantable. Soon after the events which we have just related had occurred, the inhabitants of Leith, as an expression of their esteem for their late magistrates, invited these gentlemen to a public dinner. On this occasion, the Lord Provost, stricken, we

presume, with the terrors of a guilty conscience, deemed that the note of preparation for dinner in Leith was merely a *ruse de guerre*, and that the true object of the meeting was to hatch treason against his sacred person. To counteract these hellish machinations on the part of the disaffected Leithers, and to meet the attack which he fully expected in a manner which should at once effectually protect himself, and exhibit to the insurgents the folly of all such treasonable attempts as compassing the death or the maltreatment of the chief magistrate of Edinburgh, his lordship entered into arrangements with the commanding officer at Piershill barracks, by which it was stipulated that several troops of dragoons, amply provided with ball-cartridge, should remain the whole night under arms, ready to march to his assistance at a moment's notice, and upon an agreed signal being given. This signal, we believe, according to the most approved practice of war, was a blue rocket. The whole *posse comitatus*, also, of the city, were ordered to be under, not arms, but inglorious batons, that they might be ready to be aiding and abetting in the defence of his lordship, as became true and loyal subjects and citizens.

As good fortune, however, would have it, the conspirators in Leith entered so keenly and with such right good will into the enjoyments of a good dinner and excellent wine, that what with one thing and another, they most unaccountably wholly forgot their projected enterprise, and remained quietly but

joyously over their bottles till a late hour in the evening; when they dispersed in the utmost good humour with each other, and with all mankind, not even excepting the town council of Edinburgh. Notwithstanding; however, that the threatened danger in this case has been miraculously averted, we would recommend it to his lordship to cause frequent and careful scrutiny to be made into each and all of his wine, coal, and other cellars, where he may perchance one day find a Guy Faux, in the shape of a Leith porter, employed to blow himself and his house into the air. The same danger, of course; and in a yet greater degree, attends the town council-room, where the same precautions ought to be taken. To be serious, it is true, that on the evening of the day on which the inhabitants of Leith entertained their late magistrates, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, afraid of his personal safety, and of an attack from Leith, did, most unwarrantably, for there existed no shadow of cause, take the measures which we have described; and there is little reason to doubt, that, had the smallest disturbance taken place in Leith, the town would have been instantly stormed and carried by a *coup-de-main* of cavalry, and the most serious consequences would inevitably have ensued.* Whether the chief magis-

* It may not be deemed superfluous to add, that it was not until the day following that on which the public entertainment given to the late magistrates took place, that any intimation of what had been going on in Edinburgh on that evening reached Leith. When the measures which the Lord Provost had thought proper to adopt on that occasion

trate of Edinburgh, of himself, and without sufficient and acknowledged cause, can thus hang, *in terrorem*,

were first made known, the Leithers, in the simplicity of their hearts, absolutely refused to believe that his lordship, however apt to do absurd, and prone to do unwarrantable things, where Leith is concerned, could possibly be guilty of the amazing absurdity spoken of in the text. They therefore for some time treated the report as a malicious attempt to flatter them, by placing the Lord Provost in a ludicrous point of view, and, with this idea, felt indignant that it should for a moment be believed that because they happened to be at variance with his lordship, they could therefore derive any pleasure from learning that he had done a superlatively foolish and inconsiderate thing.

The melancholy fact, however, soon became too notorious to be doubted; and it was with feelings at once of the utmost indignation and sorrow, that the inhabitants of Leith found themselves compelled to acknowledge their conviction of the truth. Indignant they naturally were at being treated like rebels,—like men who had threatened to violate the laws of the empire. Sorry they also felt, when the conduct of the chief magistrate on this occasion forced upon them the unhappy reflection, that the laws of the country did not secure them from having their throats cut whenever it should please the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to command it.

We must not omit to mention, that amongst the other arrangements which Mr Trotter ordered, on the evening of the public entertainment in Leith, was the withdrawing of a great number of the city watchmen from their usual stations, and planting them around his own house! It gives us much pleasure, however, to add, that the high constables of Edinburgh, who were also, as we have already mentioned elsewhere, called out on this occasion, were fully impressed with the absurdity of that act in which they were unwillingly made to participate. These gentlemen, having assembled in Ambrose's Hotel, soon forgot, in the enjoyments of a comfortable *can* of toddy, the foolish purpose for which they had been called together, and, as we are credibly informed, spent a most delightful evening.

a military force over Leith whenever he thinks proper, we do not take it upon us to say; but we do say, that the act was a most unconstitutional one, and utterly disgraceful to a free country. That the lives of his Majesty's subjects, and especially on an occasion of harmless festivity, may be put in jeopardy by the pusillanimity and idle fears of any one individual, let his situation be what it may, is a display of the existence of a dangerous power, which ought to be circumscribed, and its exercise defined with more precision than it appears now to be.

MODERN PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

THE most remarkable modern public edifices in Leith are,

THE EXCHANGE BUILDINGS.

This fine structure contains an elegant coffee-room and assembly-room, with a sale-room and subscription library. The buildings are in the Grecian style of architecture, three stories in height, and ornamented in front with four Ionic columns. The expense of this erection was £16,000. The assembly-room, which is a lofty and spacious apartment, is elegantly fitted up, and amongst its other splendours contains seven beautiful lustres; the central one, which is the largest, is truly superb. The cost of the whole was about £1000. The coffee-room is also remarkable for its elegance, and the neat and orderly manner in which it is kept. The luxury of frequenting this room, and a luxury it certainly is, may be enjoyed at the easy rate of £1. 10s. per annum, or somewhat less than a penny per day. Gentlemen of the church, army, and navy, are, with a well-judged liberality, admitted to the room at all times gratis.

CUSTOM HOUSE.

This large and handsome building was erected in the year 1812, at an expense of £12,617. The appearance of this structure has been greatly injured by the erection lately of a double stair in its front. What it has lost, however, in appearance, we are willing to believe it has gained in point of conveniency, otherwise, we presume, this intrusion on the original design would not have taken place.

LEITH BANK.

Leith Bank is an elegant little edifice, consisting of two stories; it was erected in the year 1805-6. On the top, at the north end of the building, there is a neat dome, and the front towards Bernard Street is decorated with a projection, ornamented with four columns of the Ionic order, and having three pilasters of the same on each side. The interior of this building displays an elegance every way worthy of its exterior appearance, the cavity of the dome being ornamented with various figures and devices, painted in a very tasteful manner.

The increased number of banking-houses in Leith affords us another striking proof of its increased prosperity since the latter end of the last century, and

the beginning of this. Previous to the year 1806, there was only one establishment of this kind in Leith, branch of the British Linen Company. There are now (in 1827) no less than five, the Commercial, the Leith, the National, the British Linen, and the Bank of Scotland.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

This building, which is situated on a well-chosen and healthful spot, is surmounted with a small spire and clock ; it was also begun in the year 1805, and finished in 1806.

This edifice stands no uninteresting monument of the public spirit of the inhabitants of Leith, and their laudable zeal in the cause of learning, having been built by public subscription. The rooms for the different classes are large and commodious, and its preceptors every way competent to the discharge of the important duties intrusted to them. From this circumstance, and the almost unbounded extent of free and open space which the Links afford for the sports and recreations of the boys, we do not know a place better adapted for the early education of youth.

CHAPELS AND MEETING HOUSES.

In the increased number of these we find another evidence of the growing importance of Leith. Previous to the year 1770 there were no other churches in the town than those of South and North Leith, and a small episcopal meeting-house. There are now seven, exclusive of the two former, and a neat English chapel in Constitution Street, called St James's. In all, there are now in Leith no less than ten places of public worship; these are, the two parish churches, one chapel of ease, one methodist, one episcopal, one relief, one independent, and three burgher churches, capable altogether of containing upwards of 10,000 people, which, estimating the whole population at 30,000, and, making allowance for children and necessary absences, shews us, that if these places of worship are well filled—and, we believe, they generally are—that the inhabitants of Leith are, upon the whole, a good, church-going, and religious people.

Several of these churches are remarkable for neatness and elegance, particularly that one now being erected near the grammar-school, which is adorned with a handsome portico in front. The reverend Mr Harper's chapel, in North Leith, is also a very tasteful structure. The parish church of this district is, however, (that of South Leith we have reserved for the Antiquities), deserving of more particular notice. This beautiful structure, designed by Mr W. Burn,

architect, was founded in the year 1814, and is of Grecian architecture. The building is surmounted with a very tall and handsome spire and clock, the first compartment of which is of the Doric, the second of the Ionic, and the third of the Corinthian order; the remainder of the spire is fluted, and the height of the whole from the ground to the top of the cross is 158 feet. The proportions of the portico in front are said to be taken from the small Ionic temple on the Ilyssus, near Athens. The expense of the whole edifice was about £12,000. It holds 2000 people. The oldest of the Leith churches, excepting those of South and North Leith, is the chapel of ease* in Constitution Street, which was erected in 1773, and contains upwards of 1500 people.

SEA-FIELD BATHS

Are situated at the eastern extremity of the Links, and were built in the year 1813, at an expense of £8000, which was raised in shares of fifty guineas each. This structure is very elegant, and has fronts to the north and west, and a handsome porch. The

* To the numerous and respectable congregation of this church it may not be uninteresting to learn, that it was first opened on Sunday, the 12th December, 1773, when the reverend Mr Walker, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, lectured on Isaiah xxvi. 1—4, and preached from Luke ii. 10, 11; and in the afternoon, the late venerable Dr Johnston, minister of North Leith, preached from Luke xvii. 21.

lower floor is fitted up with baths, and contains hot, tepid, cold, pump, and shower baths; in all seventeen, besides a large plunge-bath. The rest of the building is occupied as a hotel.

Notwithstanding, however, the salubrious situation of this house, and its contiguity to the capital, it has not been a thriving speculation. This is to be regretted, and yet more to be wondered at, since it might reasonably have been expected, that an establishment of this kind, so near a refined and luxurious city, would have met with due encouragement from its wealthy valetudinarians. Health, however, like many other things, it would appear, from the neglect with which the sea-field baths are treated, is considered best when brought from, or rather when found at a distance; and, we presume, that a fashionable of Edinburgh would not deign to seek relief from his ailments anywhere but at Scarborough or Harrogate, and would scorn convalescence obtained at Sea-field.

TRINITY HOUSE.

This very handsome building, which is in the Grecian style of architecture, was erected in the year 1817, at an expense of £2500. It occupies the precise site of the old Trinity House, for an account of which we refer our readers to the department of Antiquities.

TOLBOOTH.

The new jail is a pretty large edifice, of Saxon architecture ; it has several suits of well-lighted and commodious apartments. Like the former building, it stands on the site of its predecessor, the old jail of Leith, some account of which will also be found under the head of Antiquities.

MARKETS.

Butcher Market.—The butcher market of Leith, erected in 1819, is both remarkably elegant and spacious ; it is of an octangular form, and has three different and commodious entrances. The stalls around the area, which are conveniently and neatly fitted up, are mostly supplied with gas. Until the splendid new markets at Stockbridge were erected, Edinburgh had no market place at all to be compared with that of Leith, the old butcher markets of the city being extremely confined, crowded, and inelegant.

Fish Market.—The fish market, which was erected at the same time with the butcher market, and on a similar principle, is, though small, well adapted for the purpose to which it is appropriated.

Poultry and Vegetable Markets.—These are equally commodious and well adapted to their several purposes with the former. All the markets just men-

tioned are connected with each other by convenient passages, and exhibit an equal variety of articles with those of Edinburgh, not inferior in quality, nor comparatively less abundant.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

Female Society for relieving Indigent and Sick Women.

Leith Auxiliary Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, and for aiding the British and Foreign Bible Society in London.

Leith Weekly Auxiliary Society.

Leith Female Society.

Society for Relief of the Destitute Sick.

Sympathetic Society.

Leith Female School of Industry.

Leith Boys' Charity School.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

THOSE only who have seen and known Leith in its primeval filthiness and irregularity, can sufficiently appreciate the great improvements which it has undergone, or can form an adequate conception of its increased extent. The nucleus around which this concretion has formed, or, in other words, the original town of Leith, at least such as it was about seventy years ago, was bounded on the east by Quality Street and the Kirkgate, beyond which, in that direction, there was not a single house. The whole space, therefore, between these two streets, and the east side of the Links, was bare and open, all the way down to the sea, with the exception of one solitary glass-house, which stood, and yet stands amongst with the others, within a short distance of the water. On the south side of South Leith Church,

and about where Laurie Street is now formed, the ground was covered with trees, which, as they harmonized with the ancient Gothic fabric, considerably heightened the interest of its appearance. These, however, we believe, were removed even long prior to the first formation of the street just named. Nearly the whole of the ground between Quality Street and the east side of Constitution Street was then occupied as gardens, as nearly all the houses in that once fashionable quarter of the town had large gardens behind them. The ground again between the Kirkgate and the Links was devoted to the same purpose. We have already said that these two streets formed the boundary of the town upon the east. By drawing a line from the top of the Kirkgate past the Yardheads, and joining the Water of Leith, immediately above the Sheriff Brae, we have the old boundary of the town on the south. In this direction, until lately that the new road leading over the Water of Leith was formed, were to be seen, in the best preservation, the remains of what was once a prominent and pleasing feature in the *locale* of Leith, its numerous and extensive gardens. These have now, in consequence of the extension of the town, nearly altogether disappeared.

In North Leith there was, about the beginning of last century, but one place deserving the name of a street, and that is what is now called Sandport Street, where there are still some very old houses, whose exterior appearance indicate that they must

have been once highly respectable. The most remarkable of these, which is on the east side, and not far from Bridge Street, bears the date of 1622. We may also mention, that there is in this street another old house not altogether without some interest. Above the door, on an oblong stone, built into the wall, we find the following inscription :

“ God bless the Carpenters of North Leith, who built
this house. 1715.”

And underneath, the hull of a ship in *alto relievo*. This house would appear to have been erected a few years after the formation of the oldest dock in Leith, which lies immediately behind it, and was built in the year 1710. Sandport Street, therefore, with a few irregularly-built houses in the immediate vicinity of the old church, and two or three about the Citadel, formed North Leith in the days of yore. A sufficient time has not yet elapsed to make it either strange or interesting to mention, that the place where the wet docks now stand was formerly a mere continuation of the beach ; but the time will come when this circumstance will be deemed worth knowing, and therefore we record it. It will not lessen the interest connected with this information to mention, that about forty years since, there was a ship wrecked immediately below the Citadel, when that ground was of course an open shore. On that melancholy occasion, the tremendous sea which rolled in forced the unfortu-

nate vessel so high upon the land, that her bowsprit kept beating until she went to pieces against the north gable of that row of low tile-roofed houses, which form the west side of the square of the Citadel. On the spot, we may also add, where the present Custom-house stands, a line-of-battle ship, called the *Fury*, was built, the first ship of war, we believe, which was built in Scotland after the Union.

On the whole, there is not, we will venture to say, as we have already remarked elsewhere, a town in Scotland, excepting perhaps Dysart,* where, in proportion to its extent, a greater number of old respectable-looking houses are to be found than in Leith. These, however, as in other places, have long since been abandoned by that class for which they were originally intended, and are now, with a very few exceptions, inhabited solely by the meanest and poorest of mankind, the carved window-frames of these ancient edifices strangely contrasting with the miserable appearance of an old hat or a bundle of rags stuffed through their broken panes. The dark and dirty stair-case, the wretchedness and poverty within, together with the excess of population which they ge-

* No man of ordinary feelings can wander through the now silent and desolate streets of this once stirring and magnificent little town, without experiencing some melancholy sensations. The mighty change which it has undergone is most remarkable about the cross or centre of the town, which is formed by an assemblage of venerable and elegant antique buildings, now wholly deserted, or partially inhabited by the poorest classes.

nerally contain, every room being converted into the separate dwelling of a distinct and frequently numerous family, tend to excite melancholy reflections on their departed grandeur. When we see the squalid room, with its coarse, scanty, and dilapidated furniture, we think of the comfortable though antique splendours of its former days, and the roaring hilarity which once resounded through its now cheerless and poverty-stricken halls. But *sic transit gloria mundi*, and so pass away the days of other years. The number of houses in Leith of the description we have just mentioned, is much too great to be severally particularized. Many of these, however, may be found in what is now by far the most filthy, and otherwise the most wretched part of the town, the Rotten Row, and down the closes leading thence to the shore. The former, from this circumstance, was, we conceive, in remote times, next to the Kirkgate and Tolbooth Wynd, the most fashionable and elegant street in the town, if indeed it was second to these mentioned. On both sides of the Kirkgate and Tolbooth Wynd, also, are many houses, whose external appearance indicate that they were once the abodes at least of wealth, if not of rank. The oldest date, however, which we have been able to discover on any of the old private dwellings of seeming note, scattered throughout the town, is on a very singular-looking edifice situated in what is now vulgarly called the Sheep's-head Wynd. This house, which stands on the east side, and near the upper end of that alley,

bears the date of 1579, and we incline to think, with the exception of North and South Leith churches, it is the oldest house in Leith. Almost all the others on which any date is to be found, amongst which is that range extending from the foot of Bernard Street to what was formerly the Britannia Inn, with the intervention of one modern building, the New Ship Tavern, are dated about the beginning and middle of the 17th century. Whether the house which we have pointed out as being the oldest in Leith be really so, it is certain that there can be none older than 1544, the year in which Leith was burned by Hertford, and which is only thirty-five years prior to the date which appears on the building in question. We may add, that, agreeably to the practice of the times, there is generally to be found, immediately above the entrance into these antique mansions, some such devout legend as "Blissit be God for his giftes." One of these, at the foot of the famous Burgess Close, more learned than its neighbours, and scorning the homely language of "blissit" and "giftes," sports a Latin motto, "*Nisi Dominus frustra*" being carved in prominent *alto relievo* characters over the lintel of the door.

The oldest part of Leith, is that which is bounded on the south by the Tolbooth Wynd, on the west by the Shore, on the north by the Broad Wynd, and on the east by the Rotten Row. This quarter of the town was anciently called the clouts, or closes, from its being much intersected by lanes and alleys. During the regency of Mary of Lorraine, there was estab-

lished in this district, a sort of exchange, where the merchants of the period met to transact business. This place of meeting was called the Burss, being a corruption of the French word *Bourse*, which in that language designates a place appropriated to the purpose just mentioned. This resort, Maitland conceives, was situated at the lower end of the Paunch Market, now Queen Street, a conjecture which he considers is strengthened, to use his own words, by "the remains of three piazzas on the southern side, either for shelter or for shops." The spot to which Maitland alludes, is the south corner of Queen Street, immediately underneath the Old Shipping Company's office, which was formerly supported by pillars, thus forming a piazza below. These pillars are now built in, and form that shop lately occupied by Mr Milner, druggist, and are therefore no longer visible from the outside. To this brief notice of the Burss, we may add some short account of other two memorabilia of the olden time of Leith. These are, Little London and the Timber Bush, or, as in the former instance it was originally called, the Timber Bourse, the latter word giving that repository a designation nearly equivalent to the words Timber Mart, and which it acquired from its being appropriated for the reception of all timber imported into Leith. This yard occupied a large piece of ground, bounded on the west by the houses on the Shore, on the south by Bernard Street, on the north by the sea, and extending eastwards about half-way to the Naval Yard. It was originally

enclosed with a wooden fence, but in the year 1644, it was surrounded with a strong stone wall, by order of the town council of Edinburgh. This ground, though now covered with houses, and wholly changed in its appearance, still retains its ancient name.

The place called Little London, was bounded by Quality Street on the north, and by the Weigh-house Wynd, now Bernard Street, on the east. It extended sixty-three ells from north to south, and was fifty-one ells in breadth. How it acquired the name of Little London, is now unknown; but it was so called in the year 1574. We do not see, however, that it could have obtained this appellation from any other circumstance than its having had some real or supposed resemblance to the metropolis. From the description given of it by Maitland, it must have stood upon the ground now intersected by Chapel Lane.

On the north side of St Andrew's Street,* and nearly opposite the foot of the Sheep's-heap Wynd, there is a short lane which leads into a small and extremely filthy court, dignified with the imposing name of the Parliament Square. Miserable, however, as the place now is, it is in the immediate vicinity, and is indeed partly formed by a very old house, which still exhibits many traces of splendours nothing short of regal. Amongst these are some old oaken chairs,† on

* This street is better known to the old natives of Leith by the name of the Dub Raw.

† One of these is in the possession of Mr W. C. Reid, Leith.

which are carved, though but clumsily, crowns, sceptres, and other royal insignia. The whole building, in short, both from its very superior external appearance, and the elegance of its interior decorations, is altogether remarkable. Every apartment is carefully, and, according to the taste of the times, elaborately adorned with ornamental workmanship of various kinds on the ceiling, walls, cornices, and above the fire-places. In one chamber, the ceiling, which is of a pentagonal form, and composed of wood, is covered with the representation of birds, beasts, fishes, &c. These, however, are now so much obscured with smoke and dirt, as to be traced with difficulty. As this house, therefore, has unquestionably been either the residence of some great personage, or appropriated to some important purpose, and as it forms, as we have already said, a part of what is called the Parliament Square, we are disposed to think that that august name has not been bestowed on it either in derision or undeservedly; and we consider it by no means improbable, that if it was not actually the residence of the Regent Lennox, who, it will be recollected, lived in Leith for a considerable time during his regency, at least that it may have been the place where his council met; and from this circumstance it is not unlikely the small court adjoining has obtained the name which it now bears. The house of which we have been speaking stands nearly in the centre of that range of buildings on the coal-quay, extending from the foot of the Tolbooth Wynd

to the foot of St Andrew Street.* It may be readily distinguished from the houses with which it is now associated, by the superior elegance of its front. Not the least remarkable part of this structure is the unusually broad and commodious flight of stairs by which its different flats are entered from the street, and which, differing in this respect so much from most other old houses, sufficiently establishes the fact of its having once been a mansion of no ordinary character.

One of the most remarkable old houses in Leith, of whose history we know any thing, is that which was formerly the residence of the unfortunate Lord Balmerino,† who, alongst with the Earl of Kilmar-

* This part of the town was anciently called St Leonard's.

† The family name of this unfortunate nobleman was Elphinstone. The first Lord Balmerino was created in 1603 by James VI., to whom he was Secretary. Soon after the accession of that monarch to the throne of England, it was discovered that his Majesty, to ingratiate himself with the Pope, (Clement VIII.), and thereby to secure his Holiness' influence in assisting him to obtain the crown of the sister kingdom, had written to that pontiff a letter, in a strain of kindness and affection for his person, and respect for his religion, which greatly offended James's new subjects. This letter Secretary Cecil produced in open council, and in presence of his Majesty. In order to avoid the consequences which might have arisen from this discovery, and to save his character with his English subjects, the King fell upon the contrivance of throwing the whole blame of this correspondence upon his Secretary, Lord Balmerino, to whom he immediately wrote, desiring him to come to court. This his lordship did; and after having come to a proper understanding with the perplexed monarch, he publicly exonerated his Majesty, and took the guilt of having written the offensive letter wholly upon his own shoulders. To save appearances, Balmerino was thereupon sent prisoner to Edinburgh, "with the people of

nock, was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 11th of August, 1746, having been taken prisoner by the King's troops at the battle of Culloden. Balmerino's house is situated between Charlotte Street and Coatfield Lane, its south gable partly forming the opening of the latter from the Kirkgate. In front of the building, and between it and Constitution Street, there is a large vacant space of ground, the remains of the once-extensive garden which was attached to it;—part of the old walls of this garden bounds Coatfield Lane on the north side. The principal entrance to the house was, as it still is, on the side fronting Constitution Street, although it has also another

which place," says Scot, of Scotstarvit, "he was little favoured, because he had acquired many lands about the town, as Restalrig, Barnetoun, and Mills of Leith, so that John Henderson, the bailie, forced him to light off his horse at the foot of Leith Wynd, albeit he had the rose in his leg, and was very unable to walk till he came to the prison-house." Balmerino was shortly after this accused of treason, in reference to the letter spoken of, and having been removed to St Andrews, was there condemned to be beheaded. No day, however, having been fixed, the sentence never was carried into effect, as indeed it never was intended it should. In place of being decapitated, therefore, his lordship not long afterwards obtained permission to retire to his house of Balmerino, where he died. Arthur, the sixth and last Lord Balmerino, was born in 1688. He obtained a commission in a regiment of foot during the reign of Queen Anne. In 1715 he joined the Earl of Mar, for which he afterwards obtained a pardon. He then entered into the French service, in which he commanded a troop of horse. The last of his fields was Culloden. George I. commiserating the distress of his widow, generously bestowed on her a pension of £50 per annum, after the execution of her husband.

access by a low arched close from the Kirkgate, from which it is separated by a row of mean-looking buildings. Owing to this circumstance, it is scarcely discernible from the latter street. This good old mansion, though of considerable antiquity, is yet built in a taste so nearly approaching to modern refinement, as to render it by no means either an uncomfortable or inelegant residence at the present day. We must not omit to mention, that it derives no little additional interest from the circumstance of its having once received a monarch under its roof. This monarch was King Charles II. who, when invited by the Scottish parliament to come to Scotland in 1650, landed at Leith, and lodged on the night of his arrival in the house now spoken of.

We regret to say, that it is now impossible to point out with any degree of certainty the house—if indeed it still exists—in which Mary of Lorraine lived whilst in Leith. Were we to give credit to all the traditional information on this subject which we have received, that lady would appear to have had in Leith not one place of residence, but at least a score, there being scarcely an old house in the town without its claims to the honour of having been the habitation of the Queen Regent. The mortification, therefore, which certainly awaits him who sets out on an antiquarian excursion through Leith, particularly if the house of that illustrious personage be the object of his pursuit, will not proceed from any difficulty in discovering the former residence of her Majesty, but

in the much more puzzling circumstance of finding by far too many. In short, he would find, that nearly all the existing antiquities of Leith, were he to give credence to vulgar report, are fairly divided between "Cromwell and Queen Mary," these two celebrated personages being lugged in on all cases which may chance to be in any way connected with antiquarian research in the town, without any regard either to chronology or probability. Between Cromwell and Queen Mary, according to the traditions of Leith, there would seem to have been a sort of copartnership in building houses, and certainly, judging from the variety and extent of their speculations in this way, they were not idle during their short stay in the town. As might naturally be expected from this association, her Majesty and the Protector would appear to have lived on the most sociable footing. In proof of this, we have in more than one instance found them residing at one and the same time under one roof, Queen Mary occupying probably the first floor, and Cromwell living up stairs. To speak seriously, we have been frequently assured by the tenant on the first flat of an old tenement, that the house of which he occupied a part, was built by Cromwell, and of this we were convinced at the time, by what we thought irrefragable evidence, produced by the said tenant in support of his assertion. On going up stairs, however, we were perhaps told by the occupant of the second flat, with a confidence and gravity which commanded our respect, that the house was

positively erected by Queen Mary. Here again indubitable testimony of the latter fact was adduced, and thus our inquiry would terminate in a superabundance of knowledge on the subject in question, infinitely more mortifying than utter ignorance.

The general opinion, however, is, that Queen Mary's residence was that house in Queen Street, behind which Mr Nielson's cooperage is situated, and part of which is occupied by him as a counting-room. This apartment is decorated with three small oil paintings, done on the walls, and of which the subjects are marine views; they have all the appearance of antiquity, and are well executed. Besides these, there is also, in the same room, a full-length figure of Neptune, painted in like manner on the wall. The antiquity of this painting, however, appears to us, from various circumstances, extremely questionable, and we do not think it coeval with the former. The apartment of which we are now speaking is said to have been the Queen Regent's music-room. The principal building fronts Queen Street, and has rather an elegant exterior, all the window-frames being formed of oak, richly carved; but in this it is not singular, as there are many old houses* in Leith de-

* Amongst these we omitted to mention, in the proper place, that of Logan of Restalrig. This very handsome old house stands at the head of the Sheriff-brae. The upper row of windows which rise above the eaves of the building are surmounted with various devices, carved on the front of an angular superstructure in which each of the windows terminate. On the most easterly of these may be perceived the letters

corated in a similar manner. On the whole, however, we do not believe that this house ever was occupied by the Queen, since we have not been able to learn that there is any good reason for assigning to it that honour. That the street in which it is situated is called Queen Street, is a circumstance of no weight whatever in the question, as that name was conferred upon it within these fifty years. Previous to that period it was known by the name of the Paunch Market.

The opinion, therefore, which has obtained that the house was that in which Mary of Lorraine lived, we conceive, has wholly arisen from the circumstance of its bearing evidence of having once been the residence of some person of note, and that its decorations are in better preservation than perhaps those of any other

I. L. and the date 1636. This, it will be observed, is long posterior to the event which deprived that family of their inheritance. We may mention here, that it is said that one of this family was the successful candidate for the hand of "Tibbie Fowler o' the Glen," an achievement which says not a little for Logan's gallantry, when we consider the difficulties he had to encounter; for, besides himself,

" Ten cam east, and ten cam wast,
Ten cam rowin' o'er the water,
Twa cam down the lang-dyke side,
There's twa-and-thirty woin' at her.
Woin' at her," &c.

We think it not improbable that it was Tibbie's tocher that enabled Logan, who was ruined by the attainder of 1609, to build the elegant mansion on the Sheriff-brae. The marriage-contract between Logan and Isabella Fowler (supposed to be the Tibbie of the song) is now in the possession of a gentleman in Leith.

old house in the town, considerations which in Leith are sufficient, and more than sufficient, to entitle it to the honour which has been erroneously conferred upon it. In the opinion which we have expressed on this subject, we have, besides the observations of our own, on which it is founded, been guided in some measure by Maitland, who says, that the residence of the Queen was situated at the corner of Quality Street Lane, in the Rotten Row ; but, indeed, if what he further says be true, there is an end to all further research on this point. Maitland adds, that the house in which Mary lived was taken down by the Magistrates of Edinburgh and rebuilt. If this information, therefore, be correct, the residence in Leith of that illustrious lady is not now in existence.

Amongst the many memorials of the days of other years, which have, in Leith as in other places, disappeared before the march of modern improvement, are, the Old Grammar School, and the Kintore. These ancient buildings were both situated in the immediate vicinity of South Leith Church, and on the line of the Kirkgate. The former stood at the south-west corner of the church-yard, and the latter, being perforated by an arched passage, formed the entrance which led to the church from the street just named. At what period the old grammar school was erected, we have not ascertained. It appears, however, to have been a building of considerable antiquity, as we find by the records of South Leith Church, that the high school of Leith was a flourishing esta-

ishment as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. In the year 1681, the Latin teacher, or Latin *doctor*, as he was then called, enjoyed a salary of 100 merks yearly, exclusive of perquisites; and the English doctor 50 merks, besides voluntary gifts from the parents of his pupils. The situation of Latin teacher in the grammar school of Leith, was, even at this early period, considered so desirable an appointment, that we find one of the masters of the high school of Edinburgh amongst the number of competitors for that office, in the year 1684, as appears from the following extract from the South Leith records, and which, by the way, we think not uninteresting in other respects:—"The session likewise this day (7th August, 1684) taking to their consideration that Mr Will. Gray, schoolmaster, is now upon his tryall, in order to his settlement in the church of Linton, and having a great desyre that the school be planted with a qualified person for the education of their children, and seeing likewise that there are several recommended, as Mr White, schoolmaster in Douglass, who is recommended by my lord chancellor (Lord Perth),* and Mr William

* This nobleman recommended himself to the Duke of York, during his administration in Scotland, by his inhumanity, which enabled him to keep his Grace in countenance, by remaining with him in the council-room, and participating in the satisfaction, or at least indifference, with which the Duke witnessed the agonies of the unhappy nonconformists who had been brought before them, whilst writhing under the torture of the *thummikins* and the boot.

Rowe, and Mr William Blair, present *doctor* of the grammar school of Edinburgh; they doe therefore appoint a dispute this day fourthnight, and appoint them the third satyre of the first book of Horace, and that they have a grammatical analysis thereon." From the same source from which the above is taken, we also learn that the precentor and clerk to the session was obliged to write the copies of the children at "ye hie schule."

The Kintore was a small prison-house in which the session were wont, with the assistance of the bailie of St Anthony, to confine those whose immorality had brought them under its cognizance, or whose contumacy had given offence to its members. The bailie of St Anthony was, in former times, a most important personage. He held courts sometimes in the session-house, and sometimes at Newhaven; he was provided with an officer and a clerk, with a salary of 20 merks per annum; and, in short, was surrounded with all the "pomp and circumstance" of a civic dignitary of the first magnitude. The terrors with which the bailie was encompassed, however, did not deter the sheriff of the county from making a rash and unsuccessful attempt to dispute his right to the authority which he exercised, as appears from a minute in the session-books, dated 2d August, 1688, to the following effect: "Whereas the baillie of St Anthons is summoned before the sheriff for exerceeing his office of baillie, which his charter bears; the session allows the treasurer to deburse what

money shall be necessary expended in defending the rights thereof."

About the period of which we speak, viz. the latter end of the seventeenth century, the discipline of the church had attained a height which is scarcely credible to us who live in a more liberal and enlightened age; and in no place did this discipline assume a more stern and bigoted character than in Leith. Searchers, as they were called, and who were generally elders of the church, escorted by a guard of soldiers, were appointed by the session to go through the town during divine service on Sunday, to apprehend, and imprison in the Kintore, all persons, under whatever circumstances, who were found walking either on the streets, on the pier, or on the Links.

Amongst a thousand instances recorded in the session-books, of the intolerable severity with which this duty was performed, we find, that a poor sick man, who had come down from Edinburgh to take a walk on the beach for the benefit of the sea air, was laid hold of by these diligent emissaries of the church, and dragged to the Kintore. We find there also the case of a girl, who was summoned before the session for cutting a stock of greens during divine service, and of another, who, having come to Leith in search of her mistress, had her plaid taken from her shoulders by the inexorable and ungallant searchers.

To these instances—and they could be multiplied without end—of the bigotry of our fathers, we shall only add that of a luckless wight who was summoned

before the session for eating radishes on Sunday during sermon. This wicked sinner had been detected by the searchers in the very act, they having found him, as they themselves deposed, in his garden, "with three *riferts* (radishes) in his hand." In order that no chance of escaping the just punishment due to his complicated crime should be left him, they very cunningly inquired of him what time of the day he thought it was? To this he simply enough answered, that he thought it was about the close of the sermon, or thereabouts, a reply which fairly secured him. This offender was, however, after all, very leniently dealt with, being merely rebuked, as he asserted that it was the first time he had been guilty of the like, and promised it should be the last.

That nothing might be neglected which was calculated to improve the religious and moral principles of the people, the magistrates, by the recommendation of the session, issued an edict forbidding the boiling of kettles on Sunday, between the hour of nine in the morning and the termination of the evening service. Landlords, and landladies too, were threatened with the vengeance of the church, if they should let either houses, beds, or chambers, to strangers, until they had first submitted the testimonials of the said strangers to the elders of their respective quarters.

TOWN WALL.

Before the year 1549, Leith was wholly defenceless, and probably had never been deemed either worthy or capable of being fortified, until the French General, D'Esse, perceiving the importance of securing and strengthening a place which afforded such facilities for maintaining a correspondence with France, in that year threw up a wall around it. This wall, or rather rampart, was composed mostly of earth. Whether it was surmounted with a superstructure of stone, we have been unable to ascertain, but think it not improbable that it was. However this may be, it appears to have been a most formidable defence,* and to have been constructed after the best principles

* In making this assertion, we are perfectly aware that we flatly contradict an opinion of the valiant Captain Colepepper. This we most seriously regret, as we entertain the highest respect for the character of that gallant gentleman. In justice to him, however, we shall place his sentiments on this subject in juxtaposition with our own, and leave it to a discerning public to judge between us. "You speak of the siege of Leith," says the Captain, "and I have seen the place: a pretty kind of a hamlet it is, with a plain wall, or rampart, and a pigeon-house or two of a tower at every angle: Uds daggers and scabbards! if a leaguer of our days had been twenty-four hours, not to say so many months, before it, without carrying the place, and all its cock-lofts, one after another, by pure storm, they would have deserved no better grace than the Provost Marshall gives when his noose is reaved.—*Fortunes of Nigel*, vol. ii. page 12.

of fortification as that science was then understood, and adapted to the warfare of the times.

That the walls of Leith were both of great height and strength, is, we think, made sufficiently evident by the circumstances of the siege in 1560, as well as from the various unsuccessful attempts which were made on other occasions to carry the town by storm. The rampart was of an octangular form, with eight bastions, one at each angle. The first of these, called Ramsay's fort, was for the defence of the harbour, and was situated a little north of the foot of Bernard Street, to which the houses on the Shore did not then extend, there being none lower down than the old palace, called the King's Wark, which stood between the foot of that street and the Broad Wynd. From this fort the wall took a south-east direction towards the Exchange Buildings, where stood the second bastion;* hence it continued its course south-south-west, and nearly on the line of Constitution Street, but considerably to the east of it, and was intersected by the third bastion, nearly opposite the junction of

* Where the Exchange Buildings now stand, there was, about twenty or thirty years since, a narrow mound of earth of considerable height, and probably about one hundred yards long, which used to be much frequented as a promenade, on account of the view which it afforded, by the belles of Leith, from which circumstance it obtained the name of the "Lady's Walk." This mound, to which there was an ascent by stone-steps, we conceive, was the remains of the bastion spoken of in the text, and part of the wall.

Coatfield Lane with Constitution Street, or about 330 feet north-east of South Leith Church. From this point the wall proceeded in a south-west direction, or with an angle, towards the top of the Kirk-gate, where it joined the fourth bastion, near to which stood also the gate or port of St Anthony, so called from its vicinity to the preceptory of that name. The rampart now ran nearly in a straight line to the Water of Leith, intersecting, by the way, the fifth bastion, the site of which, however, we cannot point out with any degree of certainty. Here the wall was connected, with its continuation on the west side of the river, by a wooden bridge, which stood exactly 115 yards below the new stone bridge at the saw-mills. On the west side of the Water of Leith, and a little way from its banks, the rampart joined the sixth bastion. From hence, running nearly due north, it passed through a part of the citadel, where it was again intersected by the seventh bastion. Taking now an easterly direction, it terminated at the Sand-port, where, to correspond with Ramsay's fort on the other side of the river, stood the eighth bastion, and which, alongst with the former, being intended for the defence of the harbour, was strongly built, and wholly of stone.

No trace whatever of this once formidable wall now remains, although several vestiges of it existed in the time of Maitland, and more lately in that of Kincaid, the latter of whom distinctly traced its course between the chapel of ease in Constitution

Street, and Laurie Street, and from thence, with some interruption, to the west end of Cables Wynd. Before the formation of Constitution Street, the rampart intersected, and having in course of time been reduced to a mere ridge of earth, also formed a part of South Leith burying-ground. On the opening of that street, this mound was partly levelled, and partly removed to another quarter.* Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty which terminated the siege of Leith, the common council of the kingdom issued the following order for the demolition of those walls, which had defied the utmost efforts of the united force of England and Scotland :

“ Forasmeikle as it is noturlie knawyn how hurtful the fortifications of Leith has bene to this haille realme, and in speciale to the townes next adjacent thairunto, and how prejudiciall the samen sall be to the libertie of this haille countrie in caiss straingears sall at any tyme hereafter intruse thameselfs thairin : For thir and sic lyke considerations the counsall has thocht expedient, and chargis provest, baillies, and counsall of Edinburgh, to tak order with the town and commentie of the samen, and causs and compell thame to appoint ane sufficient Nomar (number) to cast down and demolish the south pairt of

* An unfortunate and unthinking wight of a ship-captain, tempted, we presume, by the devil, took it into his head to ballast his ship with this sacred earth. The consequence, as tradition has it, of this sacrilegious act, was, that neither the wicked captain nor his ship, after they had put to sea, were ever again heard of.

the said town, begynand at Sanct Anthones Port, and passing westward to the Water of Leith, making the blockhouse and courteine equal with the ground. And that they enter to the said wark upon Wednesday next be fyve houris in the morning, and to continew and perseweir in the samen, to the accomplishment of the said douncasting, conforme to the charge above written.—*Apud Edinburgh, the 2d July, 1560.*”

As this order, however, enjoined only the demolition of that part of the wall which encompassed the west side of the town, that on the east remained pretty entire for a long time after this period, as appears from an old chart of Leith, now before us, published about the middle of the seventeenth century, in which that part of the wall, with its bastions, is distinctly laid down, beginning with Ramsay’s fort, and terminating at the top of the Kirkgate, and near to the spot where the port of St Anthony stood. Beyond this it is not traced, a proof that the work of destruction enjoined in the order of council had been effectually done.

We have not been able to ascertain how many gates or ports there were in the walls of Leith, nor where, with the exception of St Anthony’s, they were situated. That gate, however, or blockhouse, as it is called by old writers, was the principal entrance into the town, and here the greatest carnage took place at the general assault made by the besiegers in 1560; Maitland supposes that there was a gate at the east

end of Hill-head Wynd, and another at the south end of Cables Wynd. This, however, is matter merely of conjecture.

ST MARY'S, OR SOUTH LEITH CHURCH.

At what period this church was erected, has not been ascertained. Maitland supposes, but upon what authority he does not say, that it must have been built previous to the year 1496. That it was in existence in 1544, is, however, certain, as the English army under Hertford, on the burning of Leith, destroyed the choir at the east end of the building. Why they spared the body of the church, is not easily to be accounted for, seeing that devastation and destruction was the sole object of their visit. This handsome old edifice is adorned with a steeple, which, though of somewhat antiquated appearance, is yet far from being inelegant. On the front of it, and a little below the horologe, there is a small oblong stone indented in the building, and surrounded with a projecting imitation of frame-work, on which is carved the royal arms of Scotland, apparently well executed. Its height, however, from the ground, prevents any thing like minute inspection of the workmanship.

The steeple, however, is not nearly so old as the body of the church, the former having been erected only about the year 1674, and the horologe was not

put up until the year 1681. The expense of building the steeple was defrayed by laying the town under contribution. When the horologe was put up in 1681, there were also three bells of different sizes hung in the steeple. These, by order of the kirk-session, were appointed to do duty after the following arrangement :—The great bell to be rung at five in the morning, and at eight o'clock at night. For sermon, the smallest bell to be tolled for the first warning, the next in size for the second, and all the three for the third. That the steeple has been superadded to the church, may be readily perceived by viewing the edifice from the Kirkgate.

In 1609, St Mary's Church was declared by the authority of parliament to be the parish church of the district, in place of that of Restalrig, which had formerly served this purpose, but, having suffered in common with many other popish establishments at the Reformation, had become totally ruinous. Maitland conjectures, that the middle aisle, with the present church and steeple, composed the ancient chapel, and that the wings, or that low range of building which runs amongst the church on both sides, were added when the chapel was made parochial. With the exception of the steeple, this supposition seems to be corroborated by the appearance of the date 1615 above the door of the porch, on the north side of the church. As this date, however, may apply to the porch itself, and not to the building to which it is attached, Maitland's conjecture must remain a con-

jecture still, and nothing more. This venerable fabric derives no small degree of additional interest from the circumstance of its having once been the church of the celebrated David Lindsay, one of the early, and amongst the few of the deserving favourites of James VI. Lindsay accompanied James on his voyage to Norway, where, at Upslo, he performed the marriage-service, on the 3d November, 1589, which united that monarch to the daughter of the King of Denmark. It was Lindsay also who baptized his son, the unfortunate Charles I. When James obtained an act of assembly, anno 1600, for ministers to sit and vote in parliament, he promoted Lindsay to the see of Ross, and he accordingly sat as bishop of that see in the year 1604, before the act restoring the temporality of bishops was made. These honours, however, were not heaped upon Lindsay without being merited. He had been particularly serviceable to James in his differences with the kirk, and was the only minister who could be prevailed upon to thank Providence for his Majesty's deliverance from the Gowrie conspiracy, which he did publicly at the Cross of Edinburgh. What is much more to his credit, however, he was the only clergyman who would pray for the ill-fated Mary during her imprisonment in England. In the year 1603, Lindsay was appointed to attend King James into England, on his accession to the throne of that kingdom; and in the following year he was nominated one of the commissioners for uniting the two kingdoms. Notwithstanding, how-

ever, the various and important situations which he held, he continued his ministry in Leith until his death, which happened about the year 1613, in the eighty-second or eighty-third year of his age.

In the year 1692, the government of this church was thrown into the utmost confusion, in consequence of a violent dispute between Mr William Wishart, the then minister of South Leith, and his session. The latter having suspended Mr Wishart, and appointed one Mr Cay in his stead, he applied to and obtained the support both of the magistrates of Edinburgh and Leith, the former of whom came down in a body, followed by a mob of disorderly people, and escorted by a strong guard of halberdiers. Having arrived at Leith, they took forcible possession of the church, by breaking open the windows and doors. On thus gaining admission, they ordered the bell to be rung, planted their halberdiers around the building, and then formally re-instated Mr Wishart in his charge, who, on the first occasion of his preaching after this occurrence, came to the church under the protection of a military guard.

To such an indecent height had the animosity of the parties interested in this quarrel attained, that at a meeting of the presbytery, one of Cay's adherents, and a member of South Leith Church-session, was violently assaulted and beaten, in presence of the assembly, by one of the opposite party. The unfortunate Cayite was first attacked by one Livingstone, a brewer in Craigend, and afterwards by several others

of the same faction, who all joined heart and hand in buffeting the unhappy martyr (whose name was Goodal) about the meeting-room, without any one attempting to rescue, or expressing the slightest displeasure at the indecorous and brutal exhibition. Nay, on the contrary, Mr Wishart, who was himself present on this occasion, not only looked quietly on, but, not satisfied with the severe castigation which had been inflicted on poor Goodal, ordered one of the Leith bailies, who was also at the meeting, to imprison him, which was actually done on the following day. Whilst this warfare between Mr Wishart and his session continued, the latter were compelled to hold their meetings in the Kintore, as they were refused admission to the session-house. Even here, however, they were met with the machinations of their enemies. One Robert Douglass, a soap-boiler in Leith, and one of Mr Wishart's friends, changed the lock on the door of the Kintore, which the members of the session were in consequence compelled to force open. Having done this, they placed on a lock of their own.

Tradition affirms, that some of Cromwell's dragoons converted South Leith Church into a stable for their horses. Whether this was the case or not, or how long, if it was so, it continued to be thus degraded, we do not know; but in 1655 we find, that Major Pearson, town-major of the garrison at Leith, came to James Stevenson, church-treasurer, by order of Timothy Wilkes, governor-depute, and demanded the

keys of the church from him, and at the same time intimating to him that the governor would not suffer any Scots minister to preach there until further orders. The church was accordingly shut up. In the month of May following, the parishioners presented a petition to the deputy-governor, to restore their church to them. Up till the month of August following, however; their request does not seem to have been complied with; for in that month we find them requesting the governor to order the ports * to be opened on the Sabbath-day, from seven o'clock in the morning, till two in the afternoon, that the people might get to the Links to hear divine service, which had been performed there every Sunday from the time the church had been shut up.† They now also

* This circumstance corroborates what we have asserted in our account of the walls of Leith, viz. that they remained pretty entire on the east side of the town, up to a comparatively late period. We do not see what other ports or gates could be meant, (the information in the text is from the South Leith Church Register), than those in the town-wall, as there was no other barrier that we are aware of between the town and the Links.

† At this period divine service during the sacrament began at seven o'clock in the morning, and the door-keepers were at their posts, or at least in attendance, by five o'clock. On these occasions, also, a tent was erected in the church-yard for the minister to preach from, as the church was too small to contain the numbers who assembled to participate in this solemn ceremony.

We may take this opportunity of adding, that there was anciently an officer attached to the establishment of South Leith Church, called a *staffman*, whose duty it was to expel vagrants from the town. A curious enough case relative to this dignitary occurs in the session-books

drew up a petition to the Protector himself; entreating him to restore them their church, and representing to his Highness that they had no other place to meet in but the open fields. This petition was drawn out by James Hogg, who was then minister of the parish. With what success this memorial was attended, we are unable to say; but think it extremely probable that the politic usurper would not lend a deaf ear to the prayer of the worthy and devout South Leithers. We must not omit to add, that the ingenious Logan, the author of *Runnamede*, and other elegant poems, was minister of this church for several years. It has now two ministers, one appointed by the crown, the other by the incorporated trades. The interior appearance of the church * has been greatly improved this year by the large east window having been filled with stained or painted glass, which, harmonizing with the Gothic character of the structure, produces a very pleasing effect.

in 1695. One John Forbes, a blue gown, having been appointed, without his knowledge or consent, to the situation of staffman, by the session, he refused to accept the office. The session, indignant at John's ingratitude, immediately gave the appointment to another, whose very first act in the discharge of his new functions, was to cudgel the recusant bedesman out of the parish.

* Both the church and church-yard are now kept in the most admirable order, and we are glad of this opportunity of mentioning a circumstance which reflects so much credit on Mr Dick, to whose vigilance and unremitting attention to his duty, as bailie of the church-yard, we can bear ample testimony; but the state in which the burying-ground is kept speaks for itself.

PRECEPTORY OF ST ANTHONY.

At the south-west corner of St Anthony's Wynd, and near the Kirkgate, stood the preceptory of St Anthony, the only one in Scotland. This edifice was founded in 1435, by Robert Logan of Restalrig, and confirmed by Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews. That it was a structure of no ordinary description, appears from Camerarius, who, in the list of monasteries given in his catalogue of Scottish Saints, thus mentions that of Saint Anthony at Leith: "*Leithanum ordinis Sancti Anthonii fundatum magnificentissimum fuit sed ita hæreticorum furor debacchatus, ut ne vestigia hodie supersunt.*" Both Maitland and Arnot call the canons of this establishment Knights Templars, but there is good reason to believe that they were merely religious knights. The only document in which they are recognised by the former title, is in a charter of James VI., dated 1614; and it is supposed that in this case it was merely a mistake of the clerk who wrote that document. One thing, however, is certain, that the canons did not by any means live amicably together. Why or wherefore they disagreed, we are unable to say; but it is nevertheless true that they were constantly at loggerheads with one another. On the seal of the convent—which is still preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh—is a representation of St Anthony in a hermit's mantle, with a book in one hand, and a staff in the other.

At his feet appears the figure of a sow, with a bell about her neck, and over the holy ascetic's head the letter T, which the brethren also wore on their black gowns, the character being formed of blue cloth, and sewed on the mantle. The legend on the seal is, "S. (for sigillum) Commune Preceptorie Sancti Anthonii prope Leicht." The bell, though in this case attached to the sow, is sometimes, in other representations of the saint, appended to his own girdle, for the purpose, it is supposed, of summoning his grunting favourite when she happened to ramble to a distance from her patron. We may also add, that one of the relics of old Lindsay's Pardonner, is,

"The gruntil of Saint Anthony's sow quilk bare his haly bell," &c.

Whether St Anthony's chapel, near the foot of Arthur's Seat, was a pendicle of, or in any way connected with, the establishment in Leith, we are unable to say with any degree of certainty, but incline to think it was; and further, we deem it not improbable, as the former was always occupied by some one in the character of a hermit, that the canons of the preceptory were in the habit of playing that part by turns. Whether this was the case or not, it is certain that, in common with other establishments of a similar nature, the commanding and conspicuous situation on which the chapel is built was chosen for the purpose of attracting the notice of seamen, who, in cases of

danger, might be induced to make vows to its tutelar saint ; and thus, as the very essence of a vow was a donation, no inconsiderable revenue was obtained. We do again, therefore, repeat, that we incline to believe that this chapel was connected with the preceptory at Leith, and formed one source of its income. Such hermitages as this were very common on the sea coasts, or near dangerous passages in rivers. Vessels passing them were generally visited by the hermit, or an agent for him, and informed that he had offered up prayers for their safety in the hour of peril, and concluding with a request for alms for his support and the repair of his hermitage. The general patron, or tutelar saint of these hermitages, was St Anthony. Thus, of course, all vessels coming into the harbour of Leith, particularly those which arrived in circumstances of danger, would soon after be boarded by the hermit, or, what was more probably the case, as it was the more convenient way, some one of the canons from the preceptory would visit the ship, and seek the guerdon of the hermit's successful mediation with Providence in their behalf.

Arnot* thus speaks of the hermitage at the foot of Arthur's Seat, and its occupants: " Sequestered from the rest of mankind, the holy might there dedicate their lives to devotion. The barrenness of the rock might teach them humility and mortification ; the lofty site and extensive prospect would dispose

* See page 196 of Arnot's History of Edinburgh.

the mind to contemplation ; and, looking down upon the royal palace beneath, they might compare the tranquillity of their own situation, preparing their minds for the scene of everlasting serenity which they expected hereafter, with the storms which assailed the court amidst a tumultuous people." Now, it is a thousand pities to disturb this fine sentimental reverie by any awakening reflections of an opposite nature on the same subject ; but we cannot bear to see such gentle and pious breathings thrown away upon a parcel of canting hypocrites, such as these same hermits of St Anthony, whose sole object in living there was the acquirement of filthy lucre, and that by the basest of all means, a system of sanctified swindling. We have no doubt, however, that could these worthy sons of holy mother church hear Mr Arnot thus innocently talking away about humility and mortification, and themselves in the same breath, they would consider it, as it certainly is, an excellent joke, and enjoy it accordingly. The monastery of Leith, of which no vestige now remains, excepting some old vaults, situated in Mr Giles the brewer's premises, was provided, like most other religious establishments of this kind, with gardens, a church, and church-yard. These have now wholly disappeared, and the whole ground which was occupied by the latter is now covered with houses. That St Anthony's Street, however, intersects the old burying-ground of the monastery, appears from the circumstance of there having been lately a large quantity of human bones exhumed

there, whilst opening the street for the purpose of laying gas pipes. These bones, from their extremely decayed state, they crumbling readily by the slightest pressure, seem to have been long interred, probably not less than from three to four hundred years. The preceptory of St Anthony, as mentioned in an early part of this work, was partly destroyed at the siege of Leith, when the steeple was battered down by the English cannon. Religious zeal afterwards completed its destruction.

KING'S WORK.

There is little doubt that this building had been at one time a royal residence, although when it was first erected, or at what period it was deserted by royalty, is involved in obscurity. Its various buildings, covering a large extent of ground, stood between the Broad Wynd and Bernard Street. In the old chart, to which we have already referred in another part of this work, the principal tower, which seems to have been a large square building, with a short spire rising from its centre, appears to be situated on the ground now occupied by that land of houses at the foot of Bernard Street, partly occupied by Messrs Reid and Son, booksellers. The King's Work was, in the sixteenth century, considered a great ornament to the town of Leith, and was deemed

well worthy the notice of strangers who visited the port.

The first mention which we find of this palace, is in the year 1477, when King James III. granted out of it a perpetual annuity of twelve merks Scots, for support of a chaplain to officiate at the altar of the upper chapel in the collegiate church of the blessed Virgin Mary, at Restalrig, founded by James. The next notice we have of it is in the year 1527, when it is thus spoken of in an act of parliament dated the 7th May:—"Ratifies and appreis ye charter and infestment given to Johnne Damhoy, of ane pece of waiste land, liand in Leith, besyde ye Kingis Werk, in feuform in all punctuis and articles efter ye tenor of ye said charter." Who John Damhoy was, or when he got the charter alluded to in the act, we have been unable to discover. In 1544, the King's Work shared in the general calamity in which Leith was involved by the English army, under Hertford. On that occasion it was set on fire, and left nearly in ruins. The building was afterwards repaired by one John Chisholme, comptroller of artillery, as he is called, who, in the year 1567, obtained the following ratification of an infestment from Queen Mary:—"Efter hir hienes lauchfull age, and revocation made in parliament, hir majeste sett in feu forme to hir lovite fuitoure Johnne Chisholme, his airis and assignais, all and haille hir landis, callit the King's Werk, in Leith, within the boundis specifit in the

infestment, maid to him thairupon, quhilkis than war alluterlie decayit, and sensyne are reparit and reedifit be the said Johnne Chisholme, to be *policy and great decoratioun of this realme, in that oppin place and sight of all strangearis* and utheris resortand at the schore of Leith. Thairfore hir maiestie, now willing that the infestment maid to the said Johnne Chisholme, his airis and assignais, of the said land within the boundis contenit thairin, be sufficient and suir to him in time cuming, his with awise," &c. &c.

From the expressions "waiste land" in the first excerpt from the acts just quoted, and "oppin place" in the second; it would appear that there were not, at either of the periods to which these acts refer, any houses lower down than, probably, the Broad Wynd, and that, therefore, the whole space between the latter and the sea, with the exception of the King's Work itself, was merely a bare and open beach. The sea, however, must, at these periods, have been close upon, if it did not actually beat against the walls of the palace; for even so lately as 1623, it flowed up as far as Bernard Street.

We again fall in with some notice of the King's Work in the year 1575, when it was ordered to be cleaned out for the reception of people recovered from the plague. Some years after this it fell into the hands of Bernard Lindsay, groom of the chamber, or chamber-chiel, as such officials were then called, to James VI. by a grant of that monarch, which also empowered Lindsay to keep four

taverns therein. In what part of the building Bernard Lindsay commenced tavern-keeper, we are unable to say, but are more than half disposed to believe it was in that old house which projects into Bernard Street, and is situated nearly opposite to the British Linen Company's bank. The lower part is now occupied as a carrier's warehouse. The probability of this conjecture is strengthened by the circumstance, that this building is still called Bernard's Nook, and we have little doubt, however isolated it may now appear, that it was at one time connected with the King's Work. We need scarcely add, that Bernard Street* derives its name from James VI.'s chamber-chiel, Bernard Lindsay.

The next mention we find of the King's Wark, is in the year 1627, when, amongst other instructions transmitted in the course of that year, by Charles I. to Sir Archibald Napier, deputy-treasurer in Scotland, there appears the following :—" That ze deall

* This street is now dignified with the name of St Bernard Street, by authority we presume, as it is painted on the corners of the street. How, or for what reason, the honest tavern-keeper has been honoured with canonization, we are unable to say ; we are, however, willing to believe, that if it had not been merited, it would not have been bestowed. To hazard a conjecture on the subject, we presume that mine host of the King's Wark had been remarkable for just measures, good wine, moderate charges, and all manner of upright dealing with his guests ; and truly, if this was the case, more equivocal claims have obtained the honour now awarded to Bernard. The house is now again occupied as a tavern, and we trust that the present tenant, with this high reward for righteous conduct before his eyes, will walk in the path of his venerable predecessor, and thus add another saint to the calendar.

with the sonnes of Bernard Lindsay for their house in Leith, to be a custom-house." Whether this negociation was ever carried into effect, we know not ; but the last accounts we have of this once-stately building, which had been in its day considered " to be policy and great decoratioun of this realme," is in the year 1647, when it was repaired or rebuilt by the common council of Edinburgh, who purchased it from Sir William Dick, for 45,000 merks Scots. After this period we have not been able to ascertain any thing more of its history, and its disappearance seems to be involved in as much obscurity as its erection. No trace whatever of this ancient edifice can now be discovered, and we incline to think that none now remain ; at any rate, the altered state of the premises on which it stood, they being now covered with a mass of confused and irregular buildings, renders all attempts at research on this subject both unsatisfactory and fruitless.

OLD TOLBOOTH.

This ancient building, which stood precisely on the site of the new jail, was erected in the year 1565, in the reign of Queen Mary. From a correspondence which took place between that princess and the town council of Edinburgh, on the subject of this edifice,

it appears that the latter for a long time denied the Leithers even the luxury of possessing a jail of their own.

Her Majesty, at the request of the people of Leith, wrote several letters, and amongst these the following, to the town council, requiring them to give permission to the latter to erect a Tolbooth :

**" TO THE PROVOST, BAILLIE, AND COUNSALE OF
EDINBURGH.**

" Forasmekle as we have send our requeiste sundry times unto zow, to permit oure inhabitants of oure town of Leith, to big and edifie our hous of justice within the samyn, and his resavit na anser fra zow, and sua the wark is steyit and cessit in zowr default : Quhairfor we charge zow that ze permit oure said inhabitants of oure said town of Leith, to big and edifie our said houts of justise, within oure said town of Leith, and mak na stap nor impediment to thame to do the samyn, for it is oure will that the samyn be biggit, and that ze desist fra further molesting of them in tyme cuming, as ze will anser to us thairupon. Subscrivit with oure hand at Hallyrud-hous, the first day of March, this zeir of God 1563. MARIA R."

This letter, so far from having any effect, was not even answered, being merely recorded in the council-register, and thereafter quietly deposited in the archives of the city, a proof this how little influence that unhappy Queen possessed, and how little her authority was regarded.

The old tolbooth of Leith was no way remarkable for any thing but its antiquity.* On the front of the building were the Scottish arms, carved in *alto relievo*, on an oblong stone, and seemingly tolerably well executed. The carving had originally been gilt. The gilding, however, had nearly altogether disappeared, a small portion only remaining in the cavities of the stone. We may add, that by an unfortunate

* We may, however, notice, that one of the ground-apartments of the old fabric was long used as a guard-house ; but when it was first devoted to this purpose, we are unable to say. From the following receipt, however, which is taken from an old journal or minute-book of the Leith court, and which we think must refer to the guard-room in the jail, it would appear that it was occupied by military as early as 1719 :

“*February 19, 1719.*—Received from Alexander Home (*a*), clerk of Leith, by me, Alexander Hendry, sergeant in captain Henry Plendergrass’s company, in the royal regiment of fusilleirs, two pair of tongs and shovell, being the other lesser, both for the use of the guard of Leith. Received by me, ALEXANDER HENDRY.”

From the same document from which the above is taken, we find, that burning criminals on the cheek with a hot iron was much in practice about this period, or at least that it was a very common threat in certain cases, as we find many such entries as the following :—“ I, Duncan M’Intyre, doe hereby enact myself never to be seen within the town of Leith, or privileges thereof, under the pain of being burnt on the cheek and whipt through the town of Leith by the hands of the hangman.”

(*a*) This gentleman was the father of John Home, author of the tragedy of Douglas, who was born in Leith on the 22d September, 1722, O. S. The house in which this celebrated man was born stood at the east corner of Quality Street ; it was pulled down some years ago, to make way for the new buildings which now occupy that ground.

oversight on the part of those who contracted with the builder of the new jail, to whom the materials of the old edifice were made over, the stone on which the arms are cut was not excepted. This relic, therefore, which might have been placed with good effect in the front of the new building, is lost to the public. Some attempts, we have been told, have been made to recover this stone, but without effect, the person into whose hands it has unluckily fallen refusing to give it up.

TRINITY HOUSE.

In the history of this ancient building we find nothing worthy of notice, it having been remarkable only for its antiquity. The old building occupied the site of the new structure, and was taken down in the year 1817. The following inscription, cut on a large oblong stone, and which adorned the ancient edifice, is now built into the wall at the entrance into Giles Street from the Kirkgate, on the north side :

“ In the name of the Lord, we masteris and marenielis
bylis this hous to ye pour. A. D. 1555.”

In the present Trinity House, there is preserved a very good painting of Mary of Lorraine, done by

Mytens. This picture, with that of a full-length portrait of Lord Duncan, executed in a very superior manner, and some others, adorn the large and elegant room appropriated for the meetings of the masters.

In another apartment there is a very old painting, the subject of which is a view of Leith. This picture is well worth seeing by those who take an interest in marking the mighty mutations which the hand of time effects, and in contrasting things as they were with things as they are.

KING JAMES'S HOSPITAL.

This old building stood on the east side of the Kirkgate, and at the south-west corner of the church-yard. It was founded by the church-session of South Leith in the year 1614, and endowed with certain lands and tenements anciently belonging to the preceptory of St Anthony in Leith, and the chapel of St James at Newhaven. The revenues arising from these subjects, together with contributions made by the maltmen, trades, and traffickers in Leith, were appropriated to the support of aged women belonging to their crafts. The number of paupers seldom exceeded twelve; each of them had an apartment in the hospital, with fire, candle, and a weekly pension. This establishment having been confirmed by the charter of James VI. received from that circumstance

the name which it bore. The spot on which King James's Hospital stood is now marked by the Scottish arms, built into the wall of South Leith churchyard in the Kirkgate.

ANCIENT PIER OF LEITH.

The pier, which was burnt by Hertford in the year 1544, was composed wholly of wood, and ran out nearly in a straight line towards the Black Rocks, a position which evinces the extreme ignorance of the period, and the deplorable want of scientific knowledge on the part of those who erected it, as, by taking this direction, the pier, to borrow a nautical phrase, was completely raked by the heavy seas setting in from the ocean. It never occurred to those ancient engineers to run their pier out in a westerly direction like the present building, and thus, by exposing one side to the open sea, securing vessels on the opposite side against its violence. If, therefore, in ancient times, they were in the practice of fastening their ships to, or mooring them amongst their wooden pier, it must frequently have happened that they were either torn from their holds, or greatly injured by violent collisions with the pier; the former would happen when the wind blew strong from the east, the latter when it blew from the west. The tops of some blackened stakes, which formed a part of the ancient pier of Leith, may still be seen sticking

up through the sand, a little east of the present pier, when the former happens to be shifted by the violence of the sea. In the old chart of Leith, to which we have already referred elsewhere, there is a wooden pier laid down nearly in the same situation with the present customhouse-quay. When it was constructed, however, or when it was demolished, we are unable to say. The wooden part of the present pier was erected about the beginning of the seventeenth century,—the continuation of stone about the year 1722. Part of these stones were brought from the ruins of the curious coal-pit of Culross, which, entering by the land, had also a mouth about a mile out to sea, where vessels were loaded with the produce of the mine, all the works of which were destroyed by a violent storm in 1625, and the ruins sold to the magistrates of Edinburgh.*

* Taylor, the Water Poet, who visited this place in the reign of James VI. declares it to have been one of the chief curiosities in the kingdom. The monarch himself, on his visit to Scotland, in 1617, was induced to inspect it as a curiosity. The proprietor, Sir George Bruce, of Blairhall, led his Majesty in at the land mouth, conducted him through the mine, and then brought him up at the orifice, which was surrounded by the sea. James, on looking round, was so surprised and frightened, that he bawled out "treason, treason," and could scarcely be convinced that Sir George had no such intention, till, being put on board a barge, he was landed safely on the shore, in the midst of his courtiers. The entertainment which followed was so agreeable to the whimsical mind of the King, as completely to restore his equanimity. It was served upon little black trenchers of hard coal, which, at the conclusion, the guests were desired to throw into the fire.

We may add, that the pier of Leith derives no small degree of additional importance from the circumstance of its being associated, and embodied, as it were, with a part of the civil law of Scotland. When a party to be sued in the Court of Session resides in another kingdom, and has an estate in this, the defender, if his estate be heritable, is considered as lawfully summoned to that court by a citation at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and pier and shore of Leith.

**MOUNTS THROWN UP BY THE ENGLISH ARMY AT
THE SIEGE OF LEITH.**

Two of these only now remain ; one close by Lady Fife's well, the other about two hundred paces east of the Grammar School. A third, which stood about two hundred and forty feet south-east of the new stone-bridge at Leith Mills, and which had been thrown up by the besiegers on their removing their encampment to the west side of the town, was lately levelled when converting the ground into a timber yard. From the relative situations of the mounts

when they instantly blazed, and were consumed. James is said to have expressed a delight at this childish contrivance, which would not at this day afford amusement to a schoolboy.

upon the Links, it would appear that the English had, by their means, made regular approaches to the walls of the town.

The first which they threw up, we conceive, was that at Lady Fife's well ; the second, that near the Grammar School ;—and it was from this last, we have no doubt, that the English cannon overthrew the steeple of St Anthony's convent, as mentioned in an early part of this work. On narrowly examining this mount, which has now obtained (at least amongst children, and we are not aware that it is known by any other) the name of the "Giant's Brae," we perceive, on the side opposite to that which fronts the town, the traces of a broad path or way, leading obliquely to its summit, by which we think it extremely probable the artillery of the besiegers was dragged to the top, where again we discover a slight excavation, apparently adapted for the operation of the guns.

These mounds, therefore, are objects of no small interest ; and however insignificant and undistinguished their present appearance may be, it will not be without its effect to recollect that they once presented a scene of warlike bustle, and that they were once occupied by the fierce soldiery of the haughty Elizabeth.

NORTH LEITH CHURCH.

This venerable edifice, which, on its erection, was dedicated to St Ninian, was founded in the year 1493,

by Robert Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood House, with the consent of his chapter, and William, Archbishop of St Andrews, for the accommodation of the inhabitants of North Leith, as that district had begun, about that period, to become of some importance, from a rapid accession to its population. It is deemed an act of no ordinary dexterity, to kill, in the words of the old adage, two dogs with one stone ; but in the instance of the building of this church, the Holy Abbot killed at least a score, as will be made sufficiently evident by the following list of *motives*, which, over and above the consideration of accommodating the good folks of North Leith, induced him to erect the chapel of St Ninian ; “ The honer of God, the Virgin Mary, and St Ninian, and for the salvation of the souls of the late King James III. and Margaret, his consort ; for the prosperity of the reigning King James IV., and for the salvation of the souls of their predecessors and successors ; for the soul of William, Archbishop of St Andrews, and those of his predecessors and successors ; for the founder’s own soul, and those of his father and mother ; for the souls of the Abbot, his predecessors and successors ; for the souls of all those to whom he was any ways indebted, or had any way offended, and for the souls of all the faithful and deceased saints.”

There were two chaplains appointed to officiate in the chapel of St Ninian’s, at a salary of fifteen merks per annum, to arise from the rents of certain tenements belonging to the Abbot, one of which was situated

at the south end of the old bridge which crossed the water opposite the church, and which was also built by Ballantyne in the year 1493; the other tenements were situated in some other quarter of South Leith, and yielded together £4 Scots per annum. It was provided, however, by the charter of erection, that, should there be any surplus money, after paying the chaplain's salaries, arising from these tenements, or from offerings made in the church, or from the pontage levied at the bridge, the said surplus was to be employed in repairing the bridge, and in repairing and lighting the chapel; if, after all this was done, there should still remain an excess, it was to be given to the poor. This charter, which was confirmed by James IV. on the 1st January, 1493, contains also a very kind and friendly hint to the two worthy chaplains, to conduct any gallantries in which the weakness of the flesh might engage them, with as much precaution as possible. The clause alluded to runs thus: "If either of the aforesaid chaplains keep a lass or concubine in an *open* and *notorious* manner, he shall be degraded." If of course they went about the business quietly, there was no harm done.

In the year 1569, the bailies and community of the burgh of Canongate, granted a charter in favour of the inhabitants of North Leith, disposing to them, for the consideration of a yearly feu-duty, of fifty-three shillings and fourpence, Scots money, to be applied to the procuring all things necessary for the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the church of St

Ninian's, " all and singular chapels, lands, tenements, buildings, and annual rents thereof, tofts, crofts, yards, yearly duties, and all others, with the pertinents belonging to the said chapels lying within the liberty of the north side of the Water of Leith, commonly called Rudeside, and more especially the chapels situated there, called St Ninian's Chapel, at the bridge-end thereof, and the chapel called St Nicolas * Chapel, with their pertinents, infestments, &c. &c. and all and sundrie annual rents upliftable out of whatsoever houses, lands, and tenements within the said town on both sides of the water thereof, in the royalty of the Monastery of Holy Cross, &c. &c." † In pursuance of the above charter, the inhabitants of North Leith erected the chapel of St Ninian's into a kirk for themselves; and thirty-seven years afterwards, viz. 9th July, 1606, they obtained an act of

* This chapel, with its burying-ground, occupied a part of the present Citadel.

† The rights contained in the above charter, and by it made over to the inhabitants of North Leith, by the bailies of the burgh of Canon-gate, were obtained by the latter from Queen Mary, in 1566, who granted them a charter similar to that which they now gave to the North Leithers. The subscriptions to this document afford us a remarkable instance of the extreme barbarity and ignorance of the times to which it refers. Amongst these signatures, we have that of " James Hart, one of the baillies foresaidis, with *my hand led at the pen*, be James Logan, notar publick, at my command." And again: " John Hunter and William Brown, councillors, with our hands led at the pen, be James Logan, notar foresaid, at our command." Here are then a ballie and two councillors of Edinburgh unable to sign their own names without being " led at the pen."

parliament, creating and erecting the said kirk into a parish kirk, to be called, in all time coming, the "parish kirk of Leith benorth the brig."

In the annals of North Leith Church we find, as in the case of David Lindsay in those of South Leith; a warm adherent in one of its ministers to the unfortunate house of Stuart. This was George Wishart,* who was pastor of North Leith parish in the year 1638. In that year he was deposed for refusing to take the covenant, and a short time afterwards was thrown into a miserable dungeon in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, called the "thieves' hole," in consequence of a discovery having been made of his corresponding with the royalists. Wishart having been some time after set at liberty, he went beyond seas with the Marquis of Montrose, in capacity of his chaplain. He afterwards became chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia, sister to King Charles I. with whom he came over to England in the year 1660, on the occasion of that princess paying a visit to her nephew, Charles II. after his restoration. Wishart soon afterwards obtained from that monarch the rectory of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and, on the restoring of episcopacy to Scotland, he was preferred to the see of Edinburgh, where he died in 1671, and was buried in the abbey-church of Holyrood-house, under a magnificent tomb.

* Well known for his elegant Latin memoirs of Montrose, a copy of which was hung round the neck of that illustrious person when he was hanged.

It adds no small degree of interest to the ancient edifice of which we are now treating, that it was the church of the late worthy Dr Johnston, founder of the asylum for the industrious blind, where, for upwards of fifty years,

“ His looks adorned the venerable place.”

As Newhaven is within the bounds of the parish of North Leith, the old church, in Dr Johnston's time, was much frequented by the primitive natives of that celebrated village, who, being naturally gregarious, generally formed the majority of its congregation, in which they constituted a marked and not unpleasing feature ; nay, it was a sight of no ordinary interest to see the stern and weather-beaten faces of these hardy seamen subdued, by the influence of religious feeling, into an expression of deep reverence and humility before their God. Their devotion seemed to have acquired an additional solemnity of character, from a conscientiousness of the peculiarly hazardous nature of their occupation, which, throwing them immediately and sensibly on the protection of their Creator every day of their lives, had imbued them with a deep sense of gratitude to that Being, whose outstretched arm had conducted their little bark in safety through a hundred storms. The fishermen of Newhaven, and their families, were always looked upon by their worthy pastor with peculiar kindness. He considered them in an especial man-

ner under his charge and protection, and accordingly treated them on all occasions with the most marked attention. This urbanity and condescension produced on their part a feeling of the deepest veneration and respect for their beloved minister.*

North Leith Church is now no longer a place of worship. In the course of last year (1826) it was

* The esteem in which Dr Johnston was held by the fishermen of Newhaven is characteristically illustrated by the exclamation with which, when selling fish to a higgling customer, they attempted to destroy all hopes of further abatement in price. "Na, na," they were wont, in such cases, to say, "Na, na, I wadna gie them to the doctor himsel for that siller;" an assertion which they conceived placed in a strong point of view the absurdity of expecting that your *bode* would be accepted, for if the doctor would not get them at the price which had called forth the exclamation, who on earth would?

We cannot refrain from subjoining another anecdote regarding this excellent and most worthy man. When the danger from the threatened invasion, in 1803, was thought to be imminent, the doctor concluded an eloquent discourse, glowing with loyalty and patriotism, by urging his hearers to join heart and hand in opposing the invaders of our shores. "And I myself," exclaimed the venerable old man, while his spirit rose within him, and his intelligent countenance beamed with animation,—“and I myself, old and feeble though this arm be, I myself will lead you on!”

To a life so eminently useful as that of Dr Johnston's, Heaven, out of charity to mankind, kindly vouchsafed a length of days which is but rarely meted out to man, (the doctor attained his ninety-first year.) This long life permitted the occurrence of a circumstance which we think not unworthy of notice. We know a family in Leith, in which this venerable minister of God performed the ceremonies of marriage and baptism through four successive generations; first uniting the great-grandfather and great-grandmother, and, lastly, baptising the great-grandson, without the interference, in any instance, during this succession, of any other clergyman.

converted into a granary ; thus, that edifice which had for upwards of 330 years been devoted to the sacred purposes of religion, is now the unhallowed repository of pease and barley. When dismantling the church, and making other alterations to adapt it for its new character, two skeletons were dug up within a few yards of the pulpit. The furniture of the church, which was also removed on this occasion, had about it every appearance of a most respectable antiquity ; and we have no doubt that the greater part of it, particularly the little ancient-looking rostrum, had remained *in statu quo* for nearly two hundred years.

We may add, that in 1608 the parish did not extend beyond the liberty of North Leith, but afterwards, in 1630, the Lords Commissioners of Surrenders and Tiends joined, united, and annexed the lands of Hillhouse-field and Newhaven to the said North Kirk of Leith, and ordered the inhabitants thereof to repair to the said kirk.

CITADEL.

This fort, which was constructed by General Monk soon after Leith had been taken possession of by Cromwell's army, was of a pentagonal form, and consisted of five bastions, with one principal gate fronting the east. This entrance to the Citadel still exists ; it is an arched way of great strength, about

30 feet long, situated at the north-west corner of the Citadel, and fronting Dock Street. It is now surmounted by a small modern dwelling-house, which has been reared immediately on the top of the arch.

That the Citadel of Leith was a place of no ordinary character, appears from the account given of this garrison by the learned John Ray, in his *Itineraries*. Ray visited Scotland in the year 1661, and thus speaks of the Citadel;—"At Leith we saw one of those citadels, built by the Protector, one of the best fortifications that ever we beheld, passing fair and sumptuous. There are three forts advanced above the rest, and two platforms: the works round about are faced with freestone towards the ditch, and are almost as high as the highest buildings within, and withal thick and substantial. Below are very pleasant, convenient, and well-built houses for the governor, officers, and soldiers, and for magazines and stores. There is also a good capacious chapel, the piazza, or void space within, as large as Trinity College (Cambridge) great court. This is one of the four forts; the other three are at St Johnston's, Inverness, and Ayr, the building of each of which (as we are credibly informed) cost above £100,000 sterling. Indeed, I do not see how it could cost less; in England it would have cost much more."

A very entire portion of the old wall, of about 20 yards in length, extends eastward from the gate. On this fragment of the rampart, Mr Gray, wright, has his workshops, and a small timber-yard. Starting

from the arched way spoken of, and which, at the time the Citadel was constructed, would be close upon the sea, the wall ran for a short way in an easterly direction; then turning, it proceeded due south, passing behind Mr Harper's chapel, and nearly parallel with Cobourg Street, until it reached Cromwell Street. From this point it took a westerly course, running in a line with Couper Street, and extending to within a short distance of the west end of that street, where it turned down to the sea, thus enclosing a space of from three to four English acres. Within a few yards of the east end of a row of small brick houses, lately erected, fronting the dock wall, and not far from its western extremity, another fragment of the rampart may still be seen. This portion of the wall has, at a little distance, the appearance of a shapeless isolated mass of earth; but when closely examined, we discover that it is the remains of another arched passage, which led into the Citadel through the ramparts. Being, however, but of small dimensions, it must have been a private entrance into the fort. This passage was for some time occupied as a byre, into which it was converted by building up one end of the arch, which may readily be traced by examining the west side of the mass. The wall of the Citadel, judging from the very entire specimen on which Mr Gray's workshops are erected, seems to have been of great strength, being formed of earth, strongly faced with large unhewn stones. On the west side of the Citadel there stands a row of low

tile-roofed houses, running south and north, which are said to have been the barracks of Cromwell's soldiers. These houses are still in good repair, and are yet all occupied as dwelling-houses. They originally extended farther north than they now do; but on the formation of Dock Street, a portion of them interfering with the line of that street, were taken down.

On the east side of these houses, and in their immediate neighbourhood, there are several other small irregular buildings, which, from their antique construction and some other peculiarities, leave us little room to doubt that they also had been occupied by the preaching soldiery of old Noll. One large house in particular, with a small plot of ground in front, enclosed with iron railing, is said to have been the residence of Monk. On the ground on which Monk had fixed as the site of his fortifications, stood the ancient chapel of St Nicholas, with its hospital and burying-ground. As it was necessary that these should be removed on the formation of the Citadel, Monk gave intimation to the inhabitants, that such as thought proper might remove the remains of their deceased friends and bury them in the new cemetery-ground by the side of the river; a great many were accordingly removed from St Nicholas' church-yard, and re-interred in what is now called North Leith burying-ground, which was first devoted to that purpose on this occasion.

After the restoration of Charles II., that monarch

bestowed the Citadel, which had been ordered to be demolished, on Lord Lauderdale, who afterwards sold it to the town council of Edinburgh for the enormous sum of £6000. On this occasion, Mr James Reid, who was then minister of North Leith, and on whose glebe the Citadel had encroached, thinking this a favourable opportunity for obtaining restitution of his lands, or some adequate compensation, applied to the town council of Edinburgh, and obtained the following act :—

Edinburgh, 5th Jan. 1666.—Which day, the bailies, council, and deacons of crafts being convened in council, upon the petition of Mr James Reid, minister of North Leith, bearing, that the glebe of that church being taken away to the Citadel of Leith, and craving that the council would be pleased to make up the same, the council, *out of favour*, although they find themselves noways bound in law to do the same, have remitted to the water bailie of Leith, and the baron bailie of the Canongate, that they cause measure off so much land as will correspond to the former glebe.”

APPENDIX.

No. I.

*Programme of the Procession at laying the Foundation
Stone of the new or extended Pier, on the 15th August,
1826.*

Band of the 7th Hussars.

Officers of the High Constables of Edinburgh.

Moderator.

High Constables of Edinburgh.

Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, ushered by their sword and mace, and attended by the council and other usual state, and by such of the Dock Commissioners as are not engaged in other official situations.

Magistrates of Leith, with their usual attendants.

Magistrates of Canongate, in similar state.

Officers of the Navy and Army, and other persons invited to the ceremony.

The Bible.

Junior Clergyman—Senior Clergyman.

The Corn, Wine, and Oil.

Superintendent of the Docks.

Engineer with the plans of the intended work. Clerk of the Docks, Commissioners with the act of parliament.

Band of the 25th Regiment.

Officers and Men belonging to the Docks.

Officers and Men of the Naval Yard.

Commissioners and other Officers of the Revenue Department.

The Office Bearers and Brethren of the Trinity House.

Office Bearers and Members of the Corporation of Maltmen.

Office Bearers and Members of the Trades.

Office Bearers and Members of the Corporation of the Traffickers, or Merchant Company.

Band.

Society of Ship-Owners.

Society of Carpenters.

Moderator of the High and Special Constables of Leith.

High and Special Constables.

No. II.

*Resolutions of the Incorporation of Merchants of Leith,
7th December, 1792.*

1st, That the civil and religious constitution of Great Britain is the happiest that the course of human affairs ever produced among men.

2d, That this constitution, which has been the result of the wisdom and experience of ages, and is the subject of admiration among surrounding nations, should not be rashly innovated.

3d, That by our present happy constitution, the life, liberty, and property of every individual is guarded by just and equal laws—that no man, however great, is above their control, and none so low that they will not protect; therefore, that no person can be aggrieved, or personally feel injury, without the means of redress.

4th, That every man of virtue, talents, and industry, has it in his power to rise in society, under our present mild and happy government, in proportion as he exerts his abilities, and that there is none to make him afraid, or to oppress him with impunity.

5th, That in human nature, constituted as it is, no political government can give universal satisfaction; for evil and designing men will always exist, and often, from selfish motives, raise complaints of supposed or aggravated grievances, which, if those men had the rule, they would not amend.

6th, That if any body of men feel grievances, they ought to apply, in a constitutional manner, to Parliament, to have them redressed, and we are confident the wisdom of the legislative body will give the proper relief.

7th, That the people ought to be cautious not to be misled by designing, disappointed, or discontented men, whose purity of intentions is suspicious, and whose schemes may lead to dangerous errors.

8th, That every measure conducive to the honour, the

dignity, and prosperity of the British nation, deserves the approbation of every well-disposed citizen ; but that every member of the state should be jealous of innovation, cautious of being misled by party, or beguiled by theoretical and unpracticable phantoms of government, which might terminate in ruin to himself, and destruction to his country.

9th, That as good citizens, we will, to the utmost of our power, oppose whatever may have a tendency to disturb the peace, harmony, and prosperity which we now enjoy, blessings too valuable to be wantonly sported with.

No. III.

Leith Meeting.

At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Leith, held within the Exchange Coffee-room there, on Tuesday, the 10th October, 1826—John Macfie, Esq. in the Chair—the following Resolutions were moved by Mr Robert Philip, and seconded by Mr William Goddard, and were adopted by acclamation.

Resolved, 1. That the meeting has learned with astonishment, that the Lord Provost and Council of the city of Edinburgh have departed from the usual mode of appointing the resident Magistrates of Leith.

2. That this mode, which had been agreed and acted upon since the year 1790, was adopted on the following principle, viz. that at the annual period of one or more of the Magistrates retiring from office, those gentlemen who had previously served were called together and consulted, regarding the names that should be recommended to succeed ; and no instance has occurred, till now, of a refusal on the part of the Council to appoint the gentlemen as recommended.

3. That this mode of appointment was calculated to enable respectable persons to undertake the office, as, although the nomination is vested in the Council, yet the

persons so elected were aware that it met with the approbation of their fellow-townsmen, on whose co-operation and assistance they could at all times rely.

4. That the Old Magistrates have always felt an interest in the public usefulness of their successors in office, and have been ready to assist them with their best advice in all cases of emergency.

5. That indignation of the meeting at the disregard shown to the customary recommendation of the Old Magistrates, by an extraordinary and premature nomination, can only be equalled by the regret and surprise that any person could be found to accept of office under such unparalleled circumstances.

6. That Magistrates so chosen cannot, in the opinion of the meeting; act with any degree of public utility, and that the barrier which existed between the independency of the Magistracy and their being mere creatures of the Town Council, has been completely broken down.

7. That no instance has occurred where any Magistrate has been omitted in the nomination before the actual period of service had expired, unless solicited by himself; and the circumstance of James Scarth, Esq. whose public conduct has endeared him to his fellow-townsmen, being left out of the present appointment, cannot be viewed in any other light than as an insult to the whole population of the town.

8. That the meeting highly approve of the prompt and spirited manner in which John Hardie, Esq. has resigned the situation of a Magistrate, rather than give his countenance to such insulting conduct, or to act with persons so chosen.

9. That the conduct of the several highly respectable inhabitants of this town, who have on the present occasion resisted the solicitation of the Lord Provost to accept of office, merits the warm approbation of the meeting.

10. That, in the present circumstances, it is impossible that the municipal government of the town can be carried on with that degree of respectability which is essential to its proper administration; and as from the increasing po-

pulation of so considerable a sea-port, and from the establishment of an extensive naval depôt, it is absolutely necessary that resident Magistrates should be appointed, vested with efficient powers as Justices of the Peace, powers which the Town Council of Edinburgh cannot confer, it is the opinion of this meeting, that an immediate application to the legislature is indispensable.

11. That therefore this meeting remit to the Committee of Inhabitants, with full powers to take such measures as to them appear advisable for accomplishing so important an object ; and in particular, with instructions forthwith to give the necessary notices for that purpose.

12. That the thanks of this meeting are peculiarly due to Alex. Burn, John Hardie, and James Scarth, Esqrs. for the spirit with which they have conducted the public business of the town, and the zeal with which they have acted in the performance of the duties of the municipal office ; and that, although their merits have been slighted by the temporary rulers of the neighbouring city, they may rest assured, that they retire from the magistracy with the united approbation of all the respectable portion of the community.

13. That the Magistrates of Leith, who have hitherto, *ex officio*, formed a part of the Inhabitants' Committee, shall no longer be members thereof, and that the three late Magistrates be requested to continue to act as members of that Committee in their place.

14. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Masters of the Incorporations of Leith, for the manner in which they so promptly called this meeting, at a time when there are no Magistrates in the town to represent the public ; thus affording the community an opportunity of expressing their sentiments.

(Signed) JOHN MACFIE, Preses.

Thereafter, on the motion of Adam White, Esq. the thanks of the meeting were voted by acclamation to John Macfie, Esq. for his excellent conduct in the chair.

No. IV.

Leith, 16th Oct. 1826.

At a meeting of the Old Magistrates of Leith, held within the Exchange Buildings, this day,

Messrs John Dudgeon
James Reoch
Robert Coldstream
George Carstairs
Alexander Burn
John Macfie
W. T. Craigie
W. G. Cassels
Archibald Millar
James Scarth
Robert Ogilvie

Messrs William Thorburn
James Millar
Abram Newton
William Lindesay
Robert Grieve
Adam White
William Auld
John Mackie
John Hardie
William Waddell

Unanimously resolved,

I. That the Lord Provost ought, in duty to his own Council, as well as to the parties who addressed him, to have laid before the Council the official communication addressed to him under authority of the former meeting; and that the answer received to that communication can be received merely as his own individual answer, the Council having been left to act in utter ignorance that any such communication had been received.

II. That the Council being actually sitting when Mr Hardie's letter was delivered, this meeting cannot admit that the nomination of the New Magistrates of Leith was then in any sense a completed act; and it would, at all events, have been satisfactory, had the Lord Provost, by communicating the letter to the Council, permitted the precise state of the business, at the time of receiving it, to have been fixed by regular notice being taken of the delivery in the Minutes of the Council.

III. That, supposing the Council to have acted agreeably to the Lord Provost's statement, and to have proceeded to the nomination of the new Magistrates without wait-

ing for the usual recommendation from Leith, this proceeding was still more unjustifiable, as having taken place at a meeting prematurely and hurriedly called, for the very purpose of anticipating and preventing this old and most expedient course of proceeding, and as being in itself so disrespectful to the Old Magistrates, and so injurious to the best interests of the community.

IV. That this meeting highly approve of the whole conduct and proceedings of the late Magistrates of Leith, throughout the present juncture, and cordially join in that unanimous expression of the public feeling which has been so loudly declared in the recent meetings.

V. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the late Magistrates, Messrs Burn, Hardie, and Scarth; but in an especial manner to Mr Hardie, who so honourably to himself refused to act for a single day, under any Commission which excluded his late colleague, Mr Scarth—which overturned the only shadow of independence that the Town of Leith possessed,—and which was issued in open contempt of the whole population of Leith.

VI. That this meeting congratulate themselves on finding, that all the attempts of the Lord Provost to procure any one of the Old Magistrates to accept of office, in the view of superseding Mr Hardie, have been fruitless; and that of all those who had filled office under a system which had obtained the approbation of the public, not one would consent to serve under an arrangement which has been already justly stigmatised by the whole community.

VII. That Mr Dudgeon, as Chairman, should address a letter to Mr J. B. Scott, expressing the acknowledgments of this meeting for the handsome manner in which he allowed his name to be transmitted to the Town Council, with a view to his serving in the magistracy, and of their regret, that by the unusual plan adopted by that body, the town of Leith is for the present deprived of the advantage of his valuable services.

VIII. That a copy of this Minute be transmitted to each of the Members of Council, and that these resolutions be published in the Edinburgh newspapers.

IX. That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr Dudgeon, for his uniform attention to the interests of the town, and for his conduct in the chair.

(Signed) JOHN DUDGEON, Preses.

No. V.

Merchant Company of Leith.

At a meeting of the Merchant Company of Leith, held on Thursday, the 19th of October, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I. That this company have observed, with regret, that the Town Council of Edinburgh still endeavour to retain, by indirect means, the controlling management of the concerns of the port, for which they recently acknowledged themselves to be unfit, and of which it was the avowed intention of the Legislature in passing the recent statute to divest them.

II. That the thanks of this company are due to the Commissioners chosen under that statute, by the different public bodies, by whose spirited and unremitting exertions those attempts on the part of the Council have in a certain degree been frustrated.

III. That this company have, in a more especial manner, to offer their thanks to their own representatives in the Commission, for their faithful, zealous, and unwearied attention to the interests committed to them; and for their manful and steady adherence to the path of public duty, regardless of every circumstance of annoyance and irritation, to which they were exposed by the conduct of the Council Commissioners.

IV. That this company cannot regard but with the deepest concern, the insults to which their representatives, Messrs Goddard and Scarth, had been exposed, in the discharge of their public duty; but while it is manifest that the Town Council thus measure their hostility by the standard worth and popularity of the gentlemen attacked,

this company are happy to think that such hostility must be felt by those gentlemen as a tribute little less flattering to their merits than even the express and unqualified approbation of their constituents.

V. That this company cannot express, in terms sufficiently strong, their disapprobation and censure of the whole line of conduct pursued towards Leith by the Right Hon. W. Trotter, both as Lord Provost of the city of Edinburgh, and as a constituent member and chairman of the Commission.

VI. That, more particularly, this company, in common with the other public bodies, and the whole community of Leith, have seen with the utmost surprise and indignation, the late extraordinary departure from the established mode of proceeding, in that most important of all their local concerns, the nomination of the Resident Magistrates, a measure altogether unprecedented in itself, but which derives its true character from the private and personal feeling in which it must have originated, and which this company have reason to believe, from the statement of various members of the Council of Edinburgh, was not the deliberate act of the Council at all, but one which the Lord Provost alone originated, and was enabled to carry through, chiefly by surprise.

VII. That this company have learned, with great satisfaction, that many of their townsmen, when privately solicited by the Lord Provost to accept the office of Magistrate, in the face of the old and established mode of proceeding, repelled the proposition with indignation, and they regret that, under such circumstances, any individual should be found willing to accept of the Magistracy; and more especially that these individuals should have so acted in the full knowledge of the previous refusal of so many of their townsmen, and of the absolute impossibility, even after their own acceptance, of procuring another individual to supply a *third* vacancy, which, by deposing Mr Hardie, it was the anxious wish of the Council also to have created.

VIII. That this company rejoice at the very different

example which was shown by Mr Hardie, who, though ignorant of the many underhand attempts which had been made to supplant him, no sooner learned the indignity which had been offered to his colleague, Mr Scarth, and the rejection of the list which had been transmitted to the Council by the Old Magistrates, than he at once refused to remain longer in office, or to act with individuals whose nomination, and the manner of it, were equally an insult and an injury to the town.

IX. That this company beg to offer their sincere and hearty thanks to the Magistrates who have retired from office, and whose whole incumbency presents one unbroken series of obligations conferred upon the public; and in a more especial manner to Messrs Scarth and Hardie, whom the Council of Edinburgh attempted to degrade, but whose high honour and public spirit only derive the greater lustre from the utter failure of the Council's attempt, and unanimous declaration of the public voice in their favour, which has been the consequence.

X. That this company highly approve of the measures proposed to be taken by the inhabitants of Leith, for obtaining Parliamentary redress of the evils with which the town is threatened in the present unexampled state of its municipal Government; and satisfied that no remedy short of a Legislative one will be of the least avail, they appoint the Master, Messrs Macfie, Reoch, and Crichton, a Committee, to co-operate with the Committee of the Inhabitants, in carrying it through, and recommend an immediate subscription to be levied to defray expenses.

(Signed) ADAM WHITE, Master.

No. VI.

Trinity-House, Leith, 30th October, 1826.

At a general meeting of the Corporation of the Trinity-house, held this day, the following Resolutions were

moved by the Master, seconded by Mr John Brown, and unanimously adopted:

1st, This Corporation feel deep regret to learn that Magistrates have been appointed for Leith, by the Town Council of Edinburgh, in total disregard to the usual recommendation of the old Magistrates, and particularly that any individuals should have been found in Leith so servile as to accept of the office under such circumstances; as they cannot, from the manner of their election (which is in direct opposition to the voice of the inhabitants), enjoy the confidence or support of the public.

2d, That this Corporation considering that for nearly forty years it has been the invariable custom for the Old Magistrates to assemble annually for the purpose of selecting proper persons to fill the Magistracy, and that the selection so made has been uniformly approved of by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Edinburgh; and considering this mode of election the only one likely to secure the services of respectable gentlemen for the magisterial office, which should be filled by such persons alone as possess the entire confidence of the community—this Corporation cannot but view the total disregard of such recommendation, on the present occasion, as a most rash and anomalous act on the part of the Lord Provost, and a direct violation of a practice which has for so many years been productive of the greatest advantage to the community.

3d, That the thanks of this Corporation be presented to Alexander Burn, John Hardie, and James Scarth, Esqrs. the late Magistrates of Leith, for the honourable, manly, and independent manner in which they uniformly discharged the many arduous and important duties of the magisterial office, and for the zeal and public spirit with which they attended to the best interests of their fellow-townsmen, and managed the whole municipal concerns of the port.

(Signed) JAMES DUNCAN, Master.

No. VII.

At a meeting of the Incorporation of Weavers of South Leith, called by the Office-Bearers, on the 30th October, 1826, for the purpose of affording the members an opportunity of expressing their sentiments on the present most extraordinary situation of the town of Leith, in regard to its late and present magistracy, the following Resolutions were moved by Mr James Millar, seconded by Mr William Millar, senior, and unanimously adopted:—

First, That the Meeting wants language to express its abhorrence of that tyranny which has induced the Lord Provost, and his friends in the Town Council of Edinburgh, to deprive Leith of those Magistrates who deserved and enjoyed the confidence, the love, and the respect of the inhabitants, exceeding in number thirty thousand individuals; and, in violation of the established practice, to replace them by others who, from the mode of their nomination, cannot possess the confidence of the public.

Second, That the thanks of the meeting are justly due, and be now offered to Alexander Burn, John Hardie, and James Scarth, Esquires, the late Magistrates of Leith, for their unblemished conduct in the discharge of the duties of that important office, and for their zeal, manliness, and public spirit as citizens, which entitle these gentlemen to (as assuredly they will carry into private life) the feelings of admiration and respect of the whole community, which is a tribute never paid but to genuine virtue and honour.

Third, That although it may be superfluous to expatiate on a subject which has been so well and so ably discussed at other meetings, namely, the contemptible proceedings of the Edinburgh powers, both in the matter of the Dock Commission and in the late appointment of the Magistracy, against all precedent and decency, and in direct opposition to the wishes and will of the people: Still

this meeting hold it to be right that the country at large should know that there is not a body nor a class, nay, not even *three* individuals in the town of Leith, who do not deprecate the conduct of the Town Council of Edinburgh, and who are not ready to make every sacrifice to obtain a legislative enfranchisement from the thralldom of an illiberal and self-elected Junto and its Chief.

Lastly, That a copy of these Resolutions be transmitted to each of the said Alexander Burn, John Hardie, and James Scarth, Esqrs. and be published in the Edinburgh Evening Courant and Scotsman.

(Signed)

ROBT. CRAWFORD,
Old Deacon.

No. VIII.

Excerpt from Minutes of a Meeting of the Incorporation of Cordiners in Leith, held there, on 17th October, 1826.

Deacon Blyth stated to the meeting, that, for a period of nearly forty years, it had been the invariable custom for the old Magistrates of Leith to assemble annually, for the purpose of selecting and suggesting proper persons to fill the Magistracy for the subsequent year, and that such selection had been uniformly approved of by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Edinburgh, prior to the present year, when they had totally disregarded the selection made by the gentlemen of Leith, and, in violation of the practice which had so long been followed, nominated to the office two individuals entirely different from those suggested by the gentlemen of Leith; that a meeting of the inhabitants had been called by the Masters of the Incorporations, at which certain resolutions were passed, declaratory of their disapprobation of such conduct, and he laid on the table a copy of the Minute of that meeting, and of the Resolutions thereof;—which being

read, and the meeting having deliberately and fully considered the matter,

Mr Peter M'Laren moved,

First—That the thanks of this Incorporation are due to Alexander Burn, Esq., John Hardie, Esq., and James Scarth, Esq. the late Magistrates of Leith, for the efficient manner in which they have severally discharged their duty, as well as for their uniform zeal and attention to the interests of the community.

Second—That the thanks of this Incorporation are due to James Duncan, Esq. Master of the Trinity House ; Robert Philip, Esq. Master of the Incorporation of Maltmen ; Thomas Heriot Weir, Esq. Convener of the Trades ; and Adam White, Esq. Master of the Merchant Company—for the prompt manner in which they came forward and called the inhabitants together, for the purpose of affording them an opportunity of expressing their disapprobation on this occasion—And

Third—That this Incorporation entertains similar sentiments with those expressed by the inhabitants at their meeting ; and concurs in and approves of the resolutions passed thereat ; and these motions being severally seconded, the meeting unanimously approve thereof, and direct the same to be published in the Edinburgh newspapers, and a copy thereof transmitted to each of the gentlemen named in the resolution.

No. IX.

Resolutions of the Convenery of the Trades of Leith.

At a meeting of the Convenery, held at Leith on the 20th day of October, 1826, the following Resolutions were moved by Deacon Fyfe, and unanimously adopted :—

1st, That this meeting has learned with deep regret, that the Magistrates have been appointed for Leith, by

the Town Council of Edinburgh, in total disregard of the usual recommendation of the Old Magistrates of Leith, a proceeding which can be viewed in no other light than as offering a direct insult to the Old Magistrates, who have always shewn towards the Provost and Town Council a disposition at once courteous and respectful.

2d, That the thanks of the Convenery be given to Alexander Burn, John Hardie, and James Scarth, Esqrs., who have uniformly discharged the many arduous and important duties of the magisterial office in this town, with a zeal, ability, and public spirit, never surpassed by any of their predecessors.

3d, That the recent imbecile attempt on the part of the Lord Provost and Town Council to lower Messrs Hardie and Scarth in the estimation of their fellow-townsmen, by expelling the latter gentleman from the Magistracy, and associating with the former, in that office, gentlemen who do not, and cannot, from the manner of their appointment, enjoy the confidence or support of the public, cannot be reprobated in too strong terms ; but it is gratifying to know that this attempt, as might have been expected, has been followed by a result directly contrary to that intended.

4th, That the thanks of the Convenery are due to Tho. Heriot Weir, Esq. the Convener, for the uniform zeal and assiduity evinced by him on all occasions connected with the interests of the community of Leith ; and in an especial manner for the promptitude with which he, in conjunction with the Masters of the other Incorporations, called the inhabitants together on the nomination of the present Magistrates being known, thereby affording the inhabitants an opportunity of declaring their sentiments on this subject.

5. That the thanks of the Convenery are also due to James Duncan, Esq. Master of the Incorporation of Shipmasters ; Robert Philip, Esq. Master of the Incorporation of Maltmen ; and Adam White, Esq. Master of the Merchant Company ; for their cordial co-operation and sup-

port in this and every other matter involving the interests of the community of Leith.

6. That the Convenery cheerfully embrace this opportunity of expressing their acknowledgments to the Dock Commissioners chosen from Leith, particularly to Messrs Scarth and Hardie, for their firm, manly, and independent conduct in the discharge of their duty as Commissioners under the act obtained last session of Parliament, for regulating the management of the affairs of the docks and harbour of Leith, and for their successfully frustrating the endeavours of the right honourable William Trotter, Lord Provost, and other Edinburgh Commissioners, to render the dock-act a dead letter, by refusing at some of the first meetings of the Commissioners to allow any motion to be put to vote which did not coincide with his Lordship's view of the matter.

Lastly, That these resolutions be published in the Edinburgh Evening Courant and Scotsman.

(Signed) THO. H. WEIR, Convener.

No. X.

Notorial copied Contract betwn Quene Douiar, in name of her derest Dochter, Marie, Queene of Scolland, and Robert Logune of Restalrig, anent the Superioritie of the Town of Leith.—Penultimo, January, 1555.

The penult day of Januar, the zier of God one thousand fyve hunder and fyftie-fyve zeirs.

COMPEIRING before us Nottards, underwrittn, the most illushr, mightie, and most potent princes Marie of Lorraine, quene douviar, and regent of this realme of Scotland. In the name and behaff of ane high, excellent, and mightie princes Marie, be the grace of God, quene of the said realme of Scotland, hr derest dochter on the ane pt, and Robert Logane, squyre, laird of Restalrig, on the other pt,

hav maid the pactionnes, conventionnes, and aggreiment,
 and confessit to have sauld, anallied, quithit, and transfer-
 rit, and be thir pntis sellis, analies, quytclames, and trans-
 ferts to the said lady, in the said name, and to the utilitie
 and profit off our said soverane lady, hr derest dochter,
 hr airs and assigns, all and hail his superioritie of the
 town of Leyth, togedder wt the proppertie of the Linx
 thairof, and all rygt tht he formerlie, as barrown of
 Restalrig, hs or may have yrto, exceptane always the
 superioritie of lands lyand within the said town, pertenant
 to the Abbay of Hailyruid-hous, and other spirituall lands
 haldan immediatlie of our said soverane lady, to be halden
 and possessit of the said lady, in name of her said derest
 dochter, the said superioritie and proppertie of Leith, the
 pertinentis and of the same
 subjectis, as houss's, tenendries, garedings, orchyeardis,
 conynggares, and grises with the Linx, as
 the hail town and Linx lye well in lenth and breid, and
 as his predecessors, and the lairds of Restalrig, has bruiket
 and rygt in yaress, and his dayes bygane, reservand and
 acceptand allanerlie the twa mylnes beand the ptenentis
 of the said laredshype of Restalrig, placit and situat on
 the river of Lyth, besyde the town. The qlk are noyht
 in this pnt venditioun qtenet, but ar ressrvit to the said
 Robert, his airs and assigns, as with power
 and libertie granted to him be the said lady, by and in
 her said derest dochter's name, to big and build, or caus
 big and build and edifie hr sd lands maid mylnes
 on the said river on the bounds and marches that may rest
 to him be resonn of his lairdship of Restalrig, and to sell
 and uplift the multr of all cornes and victulle of all the
 inhabitanes and burgess of Leyth, qlk sall be subject and
 haldin and grund byand allne at his mylnes, and nane
 oyders sua and as they hav dne in tyme by-
 gane, and as he and his predecessors has bene accustomed
 to possess and enjoy be reasoun of their mylenes
 And the said lady dowar, in hr sd dochter's name, sall
 neuer pretend to mak impediment to the said Robert, his
 airs nor assigns, in the building and edifying of the said

mylacs in tyme cuming. The said venditioun and alienatioun maid for the pryce and sume of three thousand poundis; the qlk sume the said lady, in hr said derest dochter's name, has promissit to pay, or to caus qtent, and pay to the seller, within three zeires neest after the dait heroff, the qlk venditioun being accedit as said is. The said sellar has now pntlie reasnit and denudit him of the said town, tenentis, plinentis, and dependentis, and reasyns without revocatioun, to the said noble lady, in hr said derest dochter's name, hr profit of the same, and qsent to give, start, and saisine yrf, and has promissit and obligit him be the pacth and agth, to warrand the said venditioun agt all hobles and impediments against law, and that as free-lie against himself as against uthers, and against all, and never to againsay the samyn. To the qlk he has obligit himself, his airs and assigns, guidis moveable and immoveable, pnt and to cum. And for the mair securitie and observing of the premiss's, biath the parties foresaid has accedit and ar qtent that thir pntes be recordit in the buik of regastar of ye soverane Lady's counsell, fr to serve every ane of the parties in tyme and place, as sall be necessar. Maid, recevit, and past; at Edinburgh, in the Abbay of Halyraid-house, the day and dait foresaid, in the presence of thr noble men of the David, Bishop of Ross, William, Earll Mershell, Albert, Earll of Cassells, Alexander, Earll of Glencairn, Sir John Ballenden, of Johnne Robbesone, and Johnne M'Neill, publicit nottars, witnesses callit thereto, and thir pntis ar subscriyvit be beath the parties hans, and witness foresaid, sequuntur subscriptiones.

MARAE R.

ROBBET LOGUNE of Restalrig.

Extractit furth of the protocoul and rolles off umqll Jon Robesone, notr publict, comon clerk of Lyth, by me, Archibald Nowell, nottar publict and keeper of the same, witnessing thereto my signe and subscription manuelle. Sic subscribitur.

Ita est Archibaldus Nowell, notarius publicus.

No. XI.

List of the Magistrates of Leith, from 1667 to 1827.

. The incompleteness of this list arises from the defective state of the records from which it was made up.

1667 — Reid	1697 — White	1718 G. Hallyburton
— Hall	— Warrender	R. Grierson
1668 Walter Christie	— Nairn	1719 James Grant
John Oliphant	1698 H. Ferguson	John Blair
1669 W. Borthwick	James Balfour	1720 Andrew Purdie
John Oliphant	1699 — Forrester	George Preston
1670 G. Drummond	— Menzies	1721 Thomas Fenton
William Hay	1700 — Forrester	David Grant
1683 T. Robertson	H. Cunningham	1722 Rob. Grierson
John Penman	James Dickson	Gavin Baillie
1684 A. Anderson	1701 — Forrester	1723 Patrick Lindsay
T. Wilson	John Watson	David Flint
1685 John Johnston	1702 George Clerk	1724 Roger Hog
A. M'Intosh	John Ritchie	Rob. Blackwood
1686 A. Brand	1703 W. Hutcheson	1725 James Nimmo
G. Wedderburn	Robert Hunter	Robert Lindsay
1687 G. Wedderburn	1707 Archibald Rule	1726 Charles Crockat
C. Neilson	Thomas Weir	James Watson
1688 C. Neilson	1708 James Nairn	1727 W. Carmichael
George Lawson	Robert Craig	James Flint
1689 George Sinclair	1711 William Baird	1728 C. Hamilton
W. Menzies	James Grant	J. Davidson
1690 Chas. Charters	1712 A. Cockburn	1729 James Watson
R. Blackwood	J. Wightman	Arch. M'Coull
1691 George Clerk	James Crockat	1730 Charles Crockat
Pat. Johnstone	1713 James Grant	— Maitland
1693 — Blair	William Grant	1731 Wm. Robertson
— Cunningham	1714 Charles Hope	M. Sandilands
1694 Robert Chelsly	Archd. Wallace	1732 James Seaton
— M'Leland	1715 William Jeffray	J. Colhoun
John Tailfair	Charles Telford	1733 John Cochrane
1695 H. Cunningham	1716 Archd. Wallace	Sam. Welsh
George Mitchell	Archd. M'Aulay	1734 Wm. Crockat
John Tailfair	G. Mathieson	Wm. Heriot
1696 — White	1717 James Grant	1735 Sam. Welsh
— Warrender	John Bell	Wm. Hamilton
— Nairn		

1736 John Balfour R. Montgomery	1763 Richard Todd Jas. Cundell	1787 Wm. Robertson Chas. Maull
1737 A. Blackwood Thomas Allan	1764 Richard Todd James Cundell	1788 Wm. Robertson John Kay
1738 James Stuart Robert Bald	1765 Richard Todd James Cundell	1789 John Kay John Thomson
1739 Thomas Allan G. Arbuthnott	1766 Richard Todd James Cundell	1790 James Morrison Andw. Hunter
1740 David Baird Walter Scott	1767 Richard Todd James Cundell	1791 James Morrison Andw. Hunter
1741 Charles Hope Walter Scott	1768 Chas. Sherriff Geo. Muckle	1792 Wm Douglas Pat. Haddaway
1745 ——— Inglis Walter Scott	1769 Chas. Sherriff Geo. Muckle	1793 Wm Douglas Pat. Haddaway
1747 J. Mansfield Walter Scott	1770 Chas. Sherriff Geo. Muckle	1794 John Jameson James Pillans
1748 Walter Scott John Balfour	1771 James Cundell Thomas Parker	1795 James Pillans R. Strong, senr.
1749 Walter Scott John Balfour	1772 James Cundell James Mitchell	1796 R. Strong, senr. Alexr. Sherriff
1750 Walter Scott John Balfour	1773 James Cundell James Mitchell	1797 Alexr. Sherriff John Hutton
1751 Walter Scott John Balfour	1774 James Cundell A. Sceales	1798 John Hutton Barclay Fyfe
1752 John Balfour David Strachan	1776 James Mitchell Rob. Moodie	1799 Barclay Fyfe Andw. Cassels
1753 John Balfour David Strachan	1777 A. Sceales Wm. Sceales	1800 Andw. Cassels Ellis Martin
1754 John Balfour David Strachan	1778 James Cundell Wm. Pillans	1801 Ellis Martin Wm. Sibbald
1755 David Strachan John Dick	1779 James Cundell Wm. Pillans	1802 Wm. Sibbald James Scarth
1756 John Dick Richard Todd	1780 James Cundell A. Sceales	1803 James Scarth John Watson
1757 John Dick Richard Todd	1781 James Cundell John Anderson	1804 Gil. Grierson John Dudgeon
1758 Charles Sherriff T. Hadaway	1782 James Cundell Wm. Robertson	1805 John Dudgeon Peter Wood
1759 Chas. Sherriff T. Hadaway	1783 James Cundell Wm. Robertson	1806 Peter Wood Wm. Mowbray
1760 Chas. Sherriff T. Hadaway	1784 James Cundell Wm. Robertson	1807 Wm. Mowbray Wm. Balleny
1761 Chas. Sherriff T. Hadaway	1785 Wm. Robertson Mat. Comb	1808 Wm. Balleny John Crawford
1762 T. Hadaway Jas. Cundell	1786 Wm. Robertson Chas. Maull	1809 John Crawford Robt. Menzies

1810 Robt. Menzies	1816 Wm. Thorburn	1822 John Macfie
Archd. Miller	Pat. Lindsay	James Reoch
1811 Archd. Miller	1817 Wm. Thorburn	Abram Newton
John Reid	Pat. Lindsay	1823 James Reoch
1812 Robt. Menzies	Wm. Waddel	Wm. Lindsay
W. G. Cassels	1818 Wm. Thorburn	John Mackie
James Wyld	Wm. Waddell	1824 John Mackie
1813 W. G. Cassels	Rt. Coldstream	James Miller
James Wyld	1819 Rt. Coldstream	Wm. Auld
Robt. Ogilvy	Wm. Patison	1825 Wm. Auld
1814 Robt. Ogilvy	Geo. Carstairs	Alex. Burn
Adam White	1820 Wm. Patison	Alex. Dudgeon
Wm. Boyd	Geo. Carstairs	1826 Alexr. Burn
1815 Adam White	Robert Grieve	John Hardie
Wm. Boyd	1821 Robert Grieve	James Scarth
W. T. Craigie	John Macfie	1827 Andw. Park
1816 W. T. Craigie	James Reoch	Wm. Dickson

ADVERTISEMENT.

We take this method of rectifying an error into which we have inadvertently fallen, in recording the mutiny of the Highland recruits, on the Shore of Leith. That tragical event took place on the 20th April, 1779, and not 1799, as stated in the work. See page 214, 4th line from the bottom.

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